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SOCIAL SCIENCES

SUPPLEMENT TO MARCH 11, 1960 WEEKLY REPORT

The Public Record of Richard M. Nixon

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Review of Nixon's Life, Voting Record, Stands on Issues



VICE PRESIDENT Richard M. Nixon seems sure to win the Republican nomination for President at the Republican National Convention which begins in Chicago July 25. This Fact Sheet reviews his career, gives his stands and votes on many issues.

Biography

Vice President Richard Milhous Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, Calif. on Jan. 9, 1913. His father ran a combination grocery store and gas station. Nixon attended public schools and then received an A.B. degree from Whittier College in California in 1934 and an LL.B. from Duke University Law School, North Carolina, in 1937. He practiced law in Whittier from 1937 to 1942. From January to August 1942, he was attorney in the tire rationing section of the Office of Price Administration in Washington. From August 1942 to January 1946 he was on active Navy duty as an aviation ground officer, mostly in the Pacific.

Nixon was elected to the House of Representatives Nov. 5, 1946 and reelected in Nov. 2, 1948. He became a U.S. Senator from California on Dec. 4, 1950 serving on appointment during a special session after having won election to a full term Nov. 7, 1950. Nixon was nominated for the Vice Presidency at the Republican National Convention on July 11, 1952 and elected Nov. 4, 1952. He was renominated on Aug. 22, 1956 and reelected Nov. 6, 1956.

Nixon met Thelma Catherine Patricia Ryan, a high school commercial subjects teacher, while trying out for an amateur play in 1939. They were married June 21,

1940 and have two children, Patricia (Tricia), born Feb. 21, 1946 and Julie, born July 5, 1948. Mrs. Nixon was born March 16, 1912.

Nixon is a Quaker. The Nixon family belongs to the East Whittier Friends Church in California. While in Washington, they attend primarily the Westmoreland Congregational Church.

Nixon is an avid reader and a sports fan. He likes Mexican dishes, plays golf and the piano occasionally, thus combining the favorite pastimes of the two Presidents he hopes to succeed.

Political Rise

● **START** -- In 1946 while in Baltimore on legal business for the Navy, Lt. Commander Nixon received a call from Herman Perry, California banker on a 100-member citizens committee searching for a Republican nominee to oppose Rep. Jerry Voorhis in the state's 12th District. Voorhis, a New Deal Democrat, had served since 1937. "Are you a Republican?" Perry asked Nixon. "I guess so," Nixon said, "I voted for Dewey last time." Nixon flew to California to be interviewed by the committee and won its support for the nomination.

● **ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE** -- Nov. 5, 1946. Nixon beat Voorhis 65,586 to 49,994. Nixon campaigned under the slogan "A Vote for Nixon is a vote against the PAC" (Political Action Committee of the CIO). He accused Voorhis of being soft on Communism. The Los Angeles Times, which supported Nixon, praised his campaign saying he "carried the issues right to his opponent. Their repeated debates have been outstanding in this campaign."

Nixon's Health

Vice President Nixon's physician said Feb. 5 he was in excellent condition. His only ailment is an allergy -- hay fever -- which he suffers in the spring; it is particularly disturbing to his eyes.

Reports that Nixon had high blood pressure or nervous stomach were denied by Dr. Walter R. Tkach, White House physician who has attended Nixon since he became Vice President. Dr. Tkach said Nixon has had no serious childhood diseases. Nixon smokes only an occasional dinner-time cigar, drinks sparingly. Dr. Tkach said Nixon weighs about 172 pounds, "ideal" for a man his height, which is about six feet.

● **REELECTED REPRESENTATIVE** -- Nov. 2, 1948. Nixon was reelected to the House with 141,509 votes after winning both the Democratic and Republican nominations under California's cross-filing system.

Nixon - Douglas Fight

● **ELECTED SENATOR** -- Nov. 7, 1950. Nixon beat Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (D 1945-51) 2,183,454 votes to 1,502,507. The key issue in the country and in California in 1950 was Communism and internal security. A bill establishing a loyalty oath for state employees and civil defense workers, sponsored by California Gov. Earl Warren (R 1943-53), passed the state legislature with only five dissenting votes in 1950. While Nixon won his primary nomination with little trouble, Mrs. Douglas was attacked by her primary opponent, Manchester Boddy, in red ink as "too often teaming up with the notorious extreme radical (Rep.) Vito Marcantonio (R N.Y. 1935-37, American Labor Party 1939-50) on votes which seem more to the interest of the USSR than of the United States."

In the election campaign Nixon distributed a "pink sheet" linking Mrs. Douglas's voting record with Marcantonio's and asking "Would California send Marcantonio to the Senate?" The New York Times Oct. 10 said the advent of the Korean War in June 1950 increased pro-Nixon sentiment.

Nixon took his Senate seat Dec. 4, 1950 during a special session of Congress. He was appointed to fill the last month of the term of Sen. Sheridan Downey (D 1938-50) who retired because of ill health. Nixon thus gained seniority over six other Republicans in the Senate.

1952 Campaign

● **ELECTED VICE PRESIDENT** -- Nov. 4, 1952. After the Republican nomination for President, General Dwight D. Eisenhower met with Republican leaders and his advisors and selected Nixon to be his running mate. Nixon was nominated by acclamation July 11, 1952, in Chicago.

The new candidate July 14, 1952, described himself thus: "On foreign affairs I probably would be considered a so-called internationalist. On domestic policy I think I'd be labeled a conservative but probably middle-of-the-roader would come closer to it. I believe in leaving as much as possible to the states. For example, I didn't believe in stealing the tidelands from Texas and California."

Communism and corruption in government were the centerpieces of Nixon's campaign. President Truman, Secretary of State Acheson and Adlai E. Stevenson "are

traitors to the high principles in which many of the Nation's Democrats believe. Real Democrats are outraged by the Truman-Acheson-Stevenson gang's toleration and defense of Communism in high places," he said Oct. 27.

When Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis. 1946-57) and McCarthyism became an issue, Nixon announced he would support McCarthy if he were renominated but said such support did not mean endorsement of his views.

'Nixon Fund'

The most flamboyant episode in the campaign was the controversy over the "Nixon fund" and the television address Nixon made to make clear his position.

Early in the campaign charges were made that Nixon had accepted about \$18,000 from California backers as a supplement to his salary as Senator. Nixon confirmed the existence of the fund but said he had not profited from it personally. To a train-side crowd Nixon Sept. 19 said, "Let me go on and say this: What else, what would you rather have me do? I'll tell you what some of them do. They put their wives on the payroll. That's what Sparkman (Democratic Vice Presidential nominee Sen. John J. Sparkman (D Ala.)) did. I don't believe in putting my wife on the payroll and taking your money and using it for that purpose."

For a week controversy continued with no firm word from the Presidential candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower, amid suggestions that Nixon resign or be removed from the ticket. On Sept. 23 Nixon went on nationwide television to defend his fund:

"...I say that it was morally wrong if any of that \$18,000 went to Senator Nixon for my personal use. I say it was morally wrong if it was secretly given and secretly handled. And I say it was morally wrong if any of the contributors got any special favors for the contributions which they have made."

"And now to answer those questions let me say this: Not one cent of the \$18,000 or any other money of that type ever went to me for my personal use. Every penny of it was used to pay for political expenses that I did not think should be charged to the taxpayers of the United States.... Let me point out, and I want to make this particularly clear, that no contributor to any of my campaigns has ever received any consideration that he would not have received as an ordinary constituent."

Nixon said that a Senator's salary did not cover such political activities as making speeches outside Washington and having speeches printed. "And so I felt that the best way to handle these necessary political expenses, of getting my message to the American people and the speeches I made...was to accept the aid which people in my home state of California, who contributed to my campaign and who continued to make these contributions after I was elected, were glad to make."

Nixon described his financial situation -- his income and what he owed. It was in this speech that he referred to his wife's "respectable Republican cloth coat" and the gift dog, Checkers -- "regardless of what they say about it, we're going to keep it."

Eisenhower's answer came the same day, "I have seen many brave men in tough situations. I have never seen any come through in such fashion as Senator Nixon did tonight...when a man in further answer of what he believes to be correct and right stands up in front of all the American people and bares his soul, brings his family with him and tells the truth, and brings with him every bit of evidence that he can get hold of to substantiate this

story, to bare the secrets of his economic and financial life, he is a courageous man.... I happen to be one of those people when I get in a fight, I would rather have a courageous and honest man by my side than a whole box car full of pussyfoots."

Response to Nixon's speech overwhelmingly favored keeping him on the ticket and he remained in the race.

1954, 1956, 1958 Campaigns

Nixon campaigned in 1954 in the Republican campaign to reelect a Republican Congress. He Sept. 17, 1954 described the issues as "K1-C 3, Korea, Communism, corruption and controls. This terrible foursome of deep trouble for our Nation spelled battlefield deaths in a war that apparently had no ending...and inability to deal with the globe's number one threat at home and abroad...a domestic cancer eating away at the integrity of our Federal Government...crippling controls that stifled our economy but could not halt inflation."

● REELECTED VICE PRESIDENT -- Nov. 6, 1956. Nixon was renominated Aug. 22 by unanimous vote as President Eisenhower's running mate at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco following an abortive "dump Nixon" movement led by Presidential assistant on disarmament problems, Harold E. Stassen (1955-58). The President March 14, 1956 had said he would be happy to have Nixon on the ticket with him again. Stassen's candidate for the Vice Presidential nomination, Massachusetts Gov. Christian A. Herter (R 1953-57), now Secretary of State, nominated Nixon. Stassen was among those seconding the nomination.

In the 1956 campaign, Nixon avoided the type of personal attack that had marked his earlier political campaigning. He ran on the Administration record and what he called its mandate of 1952 -- "provide prosperity in peacetime." In his Sept. 18, 1956 kickoff speech he said, "I want to tell you what kind of a campaign I hope to wage. I am proud to be a member of this Administration. I believe we've done a good job in the past four years...the Eisenhower Administration deserves a vote of confidence from the American people...this Administration got the United States out of one war, kept it out of others and offers the best hope for peace without surrender in the years ahead...there are those who ask what are we going to do about the attacks which are being made on us by our opponents? Should we reply in kind by attacking them? I say we have better to offer the American people than personal abuse of our opponents."

In 1958 Nixon again campaigned for a Republican Congress. His approach was similar to that of 1956, emphasizing peace, prosperity and moderation. On Oct. 14, 1958, Nixon said, "The people know the sound Eisenhower economic policies which have halted the rise in prices is their best bet for the future. They are not going to risk their life insurance policies, their savings, their pensions, and their social security on the wild, high-spending plans the radical wing of the Democratic party will foist upon the economy if they increase their strength in Congress this year."

Murray Chotiner

An important figure in Nixon's political career is Murray M. Chotiner. Chotiner, a California lawyer, advised Nixon in his campaigns of 1946 and 1948 and was his campaign manager during the Senate campaign of 1950.

In 1952, by arrangement with the Republican National Committee, Chotiner managed Nixon's campaign for the Vice Presidency. He worked with Nixon in the 1954 Congressional campaigns.

In early 1956, Chotiner became involved in several Congressional investigations as lawyer for firms whose activities were under inspection. Chotiner himself was questioned about seeking favors for his clients through his connections with the Administration. Chotiner testified that he had not asked for contract assistance or favors but that he had asked for routine assistance. Chairman John L. McClellan (D Ark.) of the Senate Government Operations Committee Permanent Investigations Subcommittee put off the full investigation until after the 1956 elections so that political factors would not distort the hearings. The Subcommittee held a last hearing on Nov. 17 after which it took no more action in the case. All hearings were in executive session and have not been made public.

Chotiner was not on Nixon's staff during the 1956 campaign. Both Nixon and the Republican National Committee said that the Committee had sufficient staff to handle the campaign so there was no need for Chotiner.

Chotiner Jan. 25, 1960 announced he would enter the June 7 California primary for the Republican nomination for the 16th District California seat of retiring Rep. Donald L. Jackson (R).

Record in Congress

Nixon's first committee assignments in the House were the Education and Labor and the Un-American Activities Committees. Later he served on a Select Committee on Foreign Aid (the "Herter committee," after its vice chairman, Ex-Rep. Christian A. Herter (R Mass. 1943-52)).

These assignments led Nixon during his freshman term into some of the most controversial and publicized Congressional business of those years.

As a member of the Education and Labor Committee he helped draft the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947.

Nixon went to Europe in the fall of 1947 with the Herter Committee to make an on-the-spot study of the

Advisors

Although Nixon is generally regarded as a man who keeps his own counsel, these men have been mentioned as close friends and advisors both in political and policy matters:

Attorney General William P. Rogers.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell.

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming.

Former Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall (1953-57).

Former Republican National Chairman Meade Alcorn (1957-59).

Sen. Thruston B. Morton (R Ky.), the current Republican National Chairman.

Sen. Hugh Scott (R Pa.).

Rep. Bob Wilson (R Calif.).

J. Clifford Folger, Ambassador to Belgium 1957-59, chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee 1955-57.

requirements and resources of countries receiving help under the foreign aid program in connection with the newly proposed Marshall plan.

As a member of the Un-American Activities Committee, under constant attack about the methods it was using to investigate the extent of Communist activities in the United States, Nixon entered into the dispute. In 1948, he defended the work of the Committee but said he would be the last to say its methods were always right. William S. White, in the New York Times Aug. 15, 1948, said Nixon "is at pains to try to keep the committee on a legally sound path and has a considerable reputation for fairness to witnesses." In October 1948 Nixon proposed a program to protect witnesses accused of being loyalty risks. On Dec. 12, 1948 Nixon and Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R S.D., then a Member of the House) made up a list of recommended procedures to guide Congressional investigating committees, dealing mostly with the protection of witnesses' rights.

A Mundt-Nixon bill to require the registration of all Communist front organizations and Communist party members did not get through the 80th Congress. One of its firmest opponents in the House was Rep. Douglas, later his opponent for the Senate in 1950. Parts of the bill were incorporated in the Internal Security Act of 1950.

The Hiss Case

Nixon played an important part in the investigations of Alger Hiss and Whitaker Chambers. The New York Times Aug. 23, 1948 spoke of the "efforts of Mr. Nixon, acting as a one-man subcommittee, to pierce the disparity and contradictions which appeared in statements of some of those accused and the charges made by the accusers."

Nixon issued the subpoena for the "pumpkin papers" of Chambers and flew back by Coast Guard plane from a vacation trip in the Caribbean in order to be on hand for their opening.

On Jan. 26, 1950 Nixon made a speech on the floor of the House, "The Hiss Case -- A Lesson for the American People," in which he outlined his own role in the developments. He said:

"...those of you who were there...will remember the great impression (Hiss) made upon the committee, upon the press and upon those who were there as spectators. I would say that 90 percent of those who were in the committee room were convinced that Mr. Hiss was telling the truth...."

"Immediately after the public hearing the committee went into an executive session, and at that point the Hiss-Chambers investigation was almost dropped...."

"Mr. (Robert) Stripling, the chief investigator of the committee, and I had some doubts. I do not say that to indicate that we had any greater ability to analyse the evidence than the other members who attended the hearing. But by reason of certain conduct of Mr. Hiss on the stand we felt at least that we should investigate further to determine whether or not Mr. Hiss or Mr. Chambers was lying on the critical issues.... As a result we did a very simple and obvious thing. We went to New York City on August 7, subpoenaed Mr. Chambers and put him under a grueling cross-examination for a period of three hours...."

"I point this out because this was the first time that such an investigation had been made despite the fact that it was back in 1939 that Mr. Chambers had made these same charges...." Nixon was also connected with several other important investigations. Among them were the RFC influence probe, an investigation into tax scandals

in the internal revenue bureau, the Amerasia case and activities of the Federal Housing Administration.

In the Senate Nixon served on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee and Expenditures in Executive Departments Committee which later became the Government Operations Committee. As in the House, he devoted most of his energies discussing and attacking Communism.

Nixon continued to be an outspoken critic of the Truman Administration. One of the highlights of his attack was the 1951 charge by Nixon of "smear campaign" when President Truman recalled five-star General Douglas MacArthur as Supreme Allied Commander in the Far East. He said MacArthur had been recalled "simply because he had the good sense and patriotism to ask that the hands of our fighting men in Korea be untied so that they could bring the Korean war to a close." He introduced a resolution asking that MacArthur be restored.

Nixon Oct. 7, 1951 caused consternation among members of the Republican and Democratic parties by demanding that both Republican National Chairman Guy George Gabrielson (1949-52) and Democratic National Chairman William Marshall Boyle Jr. (1949-51) resign "on the basis of their own testimony" on helping clients get RFC loans while holding their parties' top job.

Nixon as Vice President

Nixon, the second youngest Vice President in history, (John C. Breckinridge at 35 in 1856 was younger) turned the Vice Presidency into a full-time job. The President's three illnesses -- a heart attack in 1955, an ileitis operation in 1956 and a stroke in 1957 -- brought the role of the Vice President to greater prominence. The office expanded beyond constitutional duties to include ceremonial and executive duties.

President Eisenhower's desire to increase the stature of the Vice Presidency was expressed in this statement of Feb. 1957. "I believe that it is almost showing indifference to the welfare of the American people, unless you keep the Vice President aware of everything that is going on." He should be so prepared that in case of emergency "he is ready to step in without any interruption...."

Nixon's Staff

Key figures on the Vice President's staff:

Rose Mary Woods, executive secretary. Miss Woods met Nixon when she was on the staff of the Herter Committee (1947-48).

Robert H. Finch, 35, administrative assistant. Attorney; was Los Angeles County Republican chairman 1957-59. Lost House race to Rep. Cecil R. King (D Calif. 17th) in 1952 and 1954.

Herbert G. Klein, 41, special assistant for press. On leave of absence as editor of the San Diego Union. Was campaign press assistant for Nixon in 1956 and 1958.

Charles K. McWhorter, 38, legislative assistant. Attorney; president of National Young Republicans, 1956-57.

Robert E. Cushman Jr., 45, assistant for national security matters. Brigadier General, Marine Corps.

James D. Hughes, 37, aide, appointments and arrangements, national security. Major, Air Force.

Both military aides are on active duty, on special assignment to the Vice President.

Nixon's Other Jobs

In addition to presiding over the Senate, Nixon has these positions:

Chairman, President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Chairman, Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth.

Member, National Security Council.

Member, Commission on Extension of the U.S. Capitol.

Member, Civil War Centennial Commission.

Member, Board of Regents, Smithsonian Institution.

Ex-officio member, Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission.

Nixon said in 1957, "...I approach this next four years...knowing that I will be doing something more substantial than acting as a figurehead in presiding over the Senate. As a result of the President's decision in this matter of the Vice Presidency, the Vice President can make a policy-making contribution to the Administration."

When Mr. Eisenhower had a mild stroke Nov. 26, 1957, Nixon was called to the White House and spent nine hours there conferring with staff members on plans to deal with the emergency. Despite suggestions from some Republican Members of Congress that he assume certain Presidential duties, Nixon Nov. 26 said there had been no thought of a delegation of powers. He said he was "completely confident" the President could make any decisions needed. At the same time, it was indicated Nixon stood ready to preside over the Cabinet and meetings with Congressional leaders, if needed. Nixon worked at the White House again Nov. 27, 28 and 29. On Nov. 27 he participated in making the important decision to put both the Thor and Jupiter missiles into production.

Following the failure of Congress to agree on when the Vice President should assume the responsibilities of the President, an unprecedented agreement between President Eisenhower and Nixon was published March 3, 1958. Under the terms of this pact, the Vice President would serve as Acting President upon the request of the President or after appropriate consultation should the President be unable to communicate. The President would resume his powers when he determined his disability had ended.

In the absence of the President, Nixon presides at meetings of the Cabinet and the National Security Council. Formerly these groups were presided over by the Secretary of State. He also heads two committees, The President's Committee on Government Contracts (1953) and the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth (1958). (For other official duties, see box.)

Nixon's duties as Vice President have enabled him to take some firm action in the civil rights area. As head of the Government Contracts Committee he May 9, 1957 asked heads of 26 federal contracting agencies to deny further Government contracts to firms practicing racial discrimination.

During Senate debate on changing the cloture rule at the beginning of the 85th Congress Nixon as President of the Senate Jan. 4, 1957 gave an informal opinion that

the Senate could change any of its rules by majority vote. This opinion coincided with the stand of the group seeking to make it easier to halt Senate filibusters. During debate on the Civil Rights Act of 1957, he June 20 issued an opinion that a point of order against the move to bypass consideration of the House-passed bill by the Senate Judiciary Committee was "not well taken". He declined to give a formal opinion, however, since the issue was "not...a procedural question" and put the question to a vote.

As President of the Senate he has cast seven tie-breaking votes and did not vote on nine other ties. (See box p. 384)

Nixon's Travels

In his two terms as Vice President, Nixon has traveled extensively as President Eisenhower's personal emissary. He has visited five continents and 56 countries.

Nixon Dec. 18, 1956 went to Austria as a "personal representative" of the President to study the problem of Hungarian refugees and recommend relief steps for them. Jan. 1 he said "substantially more" than the scheduled 21,500 refugees should be admitted to the U.S. Some 24,125 Hungarian refugees had been admitted by Jan. 30, and the President asked Congress for authority to admit more.

From April 27 to May 15, 1958 Nixon made a "good-will" tour of Latin America. Unexpectedly he met Communist-inspired demonstrations against him in Peru and Venezuela. Nixon acted calmly in the face of physical danger. On his return President Eisenhower praised his courage and Congress began an investigation of U.S. foreign policy in South America.

Nixon made an extended visit of Russia from July 22 to Aug. 2, 1959 with a visit to Poland on his return trip Aug. 2 to Aug. 5. Accompanied by a large group of American and foreign newsmen, Nixon had several talks and debates with Premier Nikita Khrushchev, including the famous "kitchen debate" in the demonstration room of the U.S. Fair in Moscow. Nixon made two speeches to the Soviet people, one opening the fair July 24 and the other an unprecedented televised talk on the eve of his departure Aug. 1.

For a list of countries Nixon has visited since 1953 see box.

Nixon's Trips

Since he became Vice President Nixon has visited these countries:

1953 -- Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Formosa, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, Laos, Libya, Malaya, New Zealand, Okinawa, Pakistan, Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.

1955 -- Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama.

1956 -- Austria, Brazil, Formosa, Germany, Iceland, Pakistan, Philippine Islands, Spain, Thailand, Turkey and Vietnam.

1957 -- Ethiopia, Ghana, Italy, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and Uganda.

1958 -- Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, England, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

1959 -- Poland and the Soviet Union.

NIXON'S KEY VOTES IN HOUSE AND SENATE, 1947--1952

House

Nixon served as Representative from the old 12th District of California from Jan. 3, 1947 through Nov. 30, 1950. The following roll-call votes were picked as Key Votes by Congressional Quarterly.

1947

Greek-Turkish Aid (S 938). Authorize \$300 million in military and economic assistance to Greece and \$100 million in military assistance to Turkey. Passed, 287-108, May 9, 1947. (D 160-13, R 127-94). Nixon FOR.

Foreign Aid (S 1774). Authorize \$597 million for emergency aid to Austria, China, France and Italy. Passed, 313-72, Dec. 15, 1947. (D 152-11, R 161-70). Nixon FOR.

Labor-Management Relations Act (Taft-Hartley) (HR 3020). Passage over veto. Passed, 331-83, June 20, 1947. (D 106-71, R 225-11). Nixon FOR.

Income Tax Reduction (HR 1). Passage over veto (two-thirds majority required). Veto sustained, 268-137, June 17, 1947. (D 35-134, R 233-2). Nixon FOR.

Natural Gas Act Amendment (HR 4051). Carroll (D Colo.) motion to recommit HR 4051, with instructions to substitute Priest (D Tenn.) measure to exempt independent producers of natural gas from jurisdiction of Federal Power Commission. Rejected, 64-253, July 11, 1947. (D 54-82, R 10-171). Nixon NOT RECORDED.

Anti-Inflation (H J Res 273). Wolcott (R Mich.) motion to suspend rules and pass bill (two-thirds majority required). Rejected, 202-188, Dec. 15, 1947. (D 0-161, R 202-26). Nixon FOR.

1948

Anti-Inflation (S J Res 157). Restore wartime curbs on installment buying and raise Federal Reserve Bank Reserve requirements. Passed, 264-97, Aug. 5, 1948. (D 51-92, R 213-3). Nixon FOR.

Selective Service Extension (HR 6401). Extend Selective Service to June 30, 1950. Passed, 282-131, June 18, 1948. (D 144-31, R 138-98). Nixon FOR.

Income Tax Reduction (HR 4790). Passage over veto (two-thirds majority required). Veto overridden, 311-88, April 2, 1948. (D 82-84, R 229-2). Nixon FOR.

European Recovery Program (S 2202). Authorize aid to 16 western European nations, Western Germany, Greece, Turkey and China. Passed, 329-74, March 31, 1948. (D 158-11, R 171-61). Nixon FOR.

Railroad Rates Antitrust Exemption (S 110). Authorize Interstate Commerce Commission to suspend antitrust laws with respect to railroad rate-fixing agreements. Passage over veto (two-thirds majority required). Veto overridden, 297-102, June 17, 1948. (D 69-96, R 228-4). Nixon FOR.

Oleo Tax Repeal (HR 2245). Repeal taxes on sale and manufacture of oleomargarine. Passed, 260-106, April 28, 1948. (D 140-14, R 118-92). Nixon FOR.

Communist Registration (HR 5852). Require registration of Communist and Communist-front organizations. Passed 319-58, May 19, 1948. (D 104-48, R 215-8). Nixon FOR.

Social Security (H J Res 296). Maintain status quo on social security coverage, and cancel Treasury regulations, based on Supreme Court decisions, expanding coverage. Passage over veto. Veto overridden, 298-75, June 14, 1948. (D 86-69, R 209-4). Nixon FOR.

1949

Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1949 (HR 1211). Simpson (R Pa.) motion to recommit. Rejected, 151-241, Feb. 9, 1949. (D 7-235, R 144-5). Nixon FOR.

Veterans' Pensions (HR 2681), providing \$90 a month to all veterans of World Wars I and II at age 65. Teague (D Texas) motion to recommit. Agreed to, 208-207, March 24, 1949. (D 151-100, R 57-106). Nixon FOR.

Labor-Management Relations Act of 1949 (HR 2032). Welch (R Calif.) motion to recommit, after bill had been amended by adoption of Wood (D Ga.) substitute. Agreed to, 212-209, May 4, 1949. (D 193-62, R 18-147). Nixon AGAINST.

National Housing Act of 1949 (HR 4009), providing a five-year program for slum clearance and low-cost housing construction. Rees (R Kan.) amendment to delete Title III, low-rent public housing. Rejected, 204-209, June 29, 1949. (D 64-184, R 140-24). Nixon FOR.

Agricultural Act of 1949 (HR 5345), providing a system of flexible price supports. Gore (D Tenn.) amendment to substitute text of HR 5617 providing for extension to Jan. 1, 1951, of existing (rigid support) program. Agreed to, 239-170, July 21, 1949. (D 79-165, R 160-4). Nixon FOR.

Anti-Poll Tax bill (HR 3199) making unlawful requirement for payment of poll tax as prerequisite to voting for national officers. Passage of bill. Passed, 273-116, July 26, 1949. (D 151-92, R 121-24). Nixon FOR.

Natural Gas Act Amendment (HR 1758), exempting independent producers from FPC jurisdiction. Passage of bill. Passed, 183-131, Aug. 5, 1949. (D 93-97, R 90-34). Nixon FOR.

Fair Labor Standards Act Amendment (HR 5856), providing for a minimum wage of 75 cents an hour. Passage of bill. Passed, 361-35, Aug. 11, 1949. (D 221-23, R 139-12). Nixon FOR.

Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949 (HR 5895), providing arms aid to Atlantic Pact nations. Richards (D S.C.) substitute (authorizing \$580,495,000 for western European nations) for committee amendment (authorizing \$655,840,000). Agreed to, 209-151, Aug. 18, 1949. (D 71-143, R 137-8). Nixon FOR.

Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949 (HR 5895), conference report authorizing \$1.3 billion in military aid as follows: \$1 billion to NATO nations, \$211 million to Greece and Turkey, \$27.6 million to Iran, Korea and the Philippines, and \$75 million for the "general area" of China over a two-year period. Agreed to, 224-109, Sept. 28, 1949. (D 173-24; R 51-84). Nixon FOR.

Social Security Act Amendments of 1949 (HR 6000), increasing coverage and benefits of social security. Rule (H Res 372) providing for four days' general debate, waiving points of order, and prohibiting other than committee amendments. Sabath (D Ill.) motion to order the previous question, thus terminating debate on the rule. (Republicans sought an open rule to permit substitution of GOP-sponsored amendments.) Agreed to, 175-154, Oct. 4, 1949. (D 172-20, R 2-134). Nixon AGAINST.

Korean Aid Act (HR 5330). Authorize \$60 million for participation in ECA. Passage of bill. Rejected, 191-192, Jan. 19, 1950 (D 170-61, R 21-130). Nixon AGAINST.

Far Eastern Assistance Act (S 2319). Authorize \$60 million of economic aid to Korea, as well as \$103 million to aid certain areas of China to be taken from money previously appropriated for this purpose. Passed, 240-134, Feb 9, 1950. (D 198-42, R 42-91, ALP 0-1). Nixon FOR.

Foreign Economic Assistance Act of 1950 (HR 7797). Smith (R Wis.) motion to recommit with instructions to delete Title II providing for initiation of the "technical knowledge and skills" portion of the Point Four Program (aid to underdeveloped countries). Rejected, 150-220, March 31, 1950. (D 31-191, R 118-29). Nixon NOT RECORDED.

General Appropriations for 1951 (HR 7786). Thomas (D Texas), Taber (R N.Y.) amendment to reduce total appropriations by \$600 million, specifying percentage reductions to effect this cut. Agreed to, 273-113, May 10, 1950. (D 116-111, R 157-1). Nixon NOT RECORDED.

Postal Delivery Service Restoration (HR 8195). Rescind order of Postmaster General curtailing postal deliveries. Passage of bill. Passed, 264-108, Aug. 16, 1950. (D 158-71, R 105-37). Nixon AGAINST.

Fair Employment Practice Act (HR 4453). McConnell (R Pa.) amendment substituting text of HR 6881 (deleting reference to unlawful employment practices, and establishing FEPC with investigating and recommending powers only). Agreed to, 222-178, Feb 22, 1950. (D 118-128, R 104-49). Nixon FOR.

Housing Act of 1950 (HR 7402). Wolcott (R Mich.) amendment to delete Title I (providing for direct loans to cooperatives through a federal mortgage corporation). Agreed to, 218-155, March 22, 1950. (D 81-141, R 137-13). Nixon FOR.

Natural Gas Act Amendments (HR 1758). Exempt independent natural gas producers from Federal Power Commission jurisdiction. Resolution (H Res 531) providing for House agreement to Senate amendment to bill. Agreed to 176-174, March 31, 1950. (D 97-116, R 79-57). Nixon NOT RECORDED.

Housing and Rent Act of 1950 (S 3181). Extend federal rent control to Dec. 31, 1950, thereafter on local option only, to June 30, 1951. Conference report. Agreed to, 176-145, June 21, 1950. (D 150-39, R 25-106). Nixon AGAINST.

Defense Production Act of 1950 (HR 9176). Wolcott (R Mich.) amendment to confine credit controls to consumer and real estate credit. Rejected, 173-224, Aug. 10, 1950. (D 33-210, R 140-13). Nixon FOR.

Revenue Act of 1950 (HR 8920). Resolution (H Res 842) disagreeing to Senate amendments and sending bill to conference. Sabath (D Ill.) motion to order the previous question (if carried, this would have closed debate and prevented consideration of an amendment to require consideration of excess-profits tax by 81st Congress). Rejected 106-226, Sept. 14, 1950. (D 53-153, R 53-72). Nixon AGAINST.

Senate

Nixon served in the Senate from Dec. 4, 1950 through 1952. His record during 1951-52 on roll calls picked as Key Votes:

Troops to Europe (S Res 99). McClellan (D Ark.) amendment stating it was the sense of the Senate that no ground troops beyond the four divisions planned should be sent to Europe without Congressional approval. On reconsideration, agreed to, 49-43, April 2, 1951. (D 11-35, R 38-8). Nixon FOR.

Far Eastern Policy Hearings. Wherry (R Neb.) motion that the Senate adjourn until 5 p.m., May 2. (This was a parliamentary move designed to permit speedy consideration of S Res 137 calling for hearings on the MacArthur controversy which would be open to all Senators.) Agreed to, 43-41, May 2, 1951. (D 1-41, R 42-0). Nixon FOR.

Mutual Security Act of 1951 (HR 5113). Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment to cut European economic aid from \$1,130,500,000 recommended by committee to \$880,500,000. Agreed to, 36-34, Aug. 31, 1951. (D 10-29, R 26-5). Nixon AGAINST.

Public Housing (Independent Offices Appropriations for 1952) (HR 3880). Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment to authorize construction of 5,000 dwelling units instead of 50,000 and appropriate \$5 million for such construction rather than \$11.4 million. Rejected, 25-47, June 20, 1951. (D 7-32, R 18-15). Nixon FOR.

Army Civil Functions Appropriations for 1952 (HR 4386). Douglas (D Ill.) amendment to cut \$21,393,262 (10 percent) from the amount recommended by the committee for rivers and harbors. Rejected, 38-38, Aug. 15, 1951. (D 11-32, R 27-6). Nixon FOR.

Disability Pension Increase (HR 3193). Increase to \$120 a month the pension for veterans requiring constant attendance of another person as a result of non-service-connected disability. Passage over veto (two-thirds majority required), 69-9, Sept. 18, 1951. (D 37-7, R 32-2). Nixon NOT RECORDED.

Universal Military Training and Service Act (S 1). Johnson (D Colo.) and Bricker (R Ohio) amendment to eliminate provisions for universal military training and service. Rejected, 20-68, March 9, 1951. (D 2-44, R 18-24). Nixon AGAINST.

Defense Production Act of 1951 (S 1717). Butler (R Neb.) amendment prohibiting OPS from placing any restrictions, quotas, or other limitations on livestock slaughtering. Agreed to 47-33, June 27, 1951. (D 10-30, R 37-3). Nixon FOR.

Price Control Revision (S 2170). Amend price control provisions of Defense Production Act so that prices shall reflect "necessary and unavoidable" cost increase with due allowance for other costs. The bill would have stiffened existing price control provisions. Passed, 49-21, Oct. 4, 1951. (D 35-0, R 14-21). Nixon FOR.

Revenue Act of 1951 (HR 4473). Committee amendment to delete provision applying excess-profits tax to all earnings in excess of 75 percent of income during the base period, and restore existing provision applying excess-profits tax to earnings in excess of 85 percent of income during base period. Agreed to, 62-20, Sept. 25, 1951. (D 25-18, R 37-2). Nixon NOT RECORDED.

Mutual Security Act of 1952 (S 3086). Long (D La.) amendment to reduce total authorization by \$200 million. Agreed to 37-34, May 28, 1952. (D 11-27, R 26-7). Nixon AGAINST.

Internal Revenue Bureau Reorganization (S Res 285). Resolution to disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 1

providing for reorganization of BIR and appointment of collectors under Civil Service. (Rejection of this resolution allowed the plan to go into effect.) Rejected, 37-53, March 13, 1952. (D 18-30, R 19-23). Nixon FOR.

Alaska Statehood (S 50). Smathers (D Fla.) motion to recommit with instructions to hold hearings and make a study of whether statehood or other self-governing status should be granted to the territory. Agreed to, 45-44, Feb. 27, 1952. (D 25-24, R 20-20). Nixon AGAINST.

St. Lawrence Seaway (S J Res 27). Approve agreement between the U.S. and Canada relating to development of Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin and provide for making the St. Lawrence Seaway self-liquidating. O'Connor (D Md.) motion to recommit. Agreed to, 43-40, June 18, 1952. (D 19-24, R 24-16). Nixon AGAINST.

Tidelands Leases (S J Res 20). Confirm and establish title of the states to tidelands and their resources. Agreed to, 50-35, April 2, 1952. (D 24-24, R 26-11). Nixon FOR.

Immigration, Naturalization and Nationality Revision (HR 5678). Passage of bill over President's veto. Passed, 57-26, June 27, 1952. (D 25-18, R 32-8). Nixon FOR.

Defense Production Act and Housing and Rent Act Amendments of 1952 (S 2594). Extend price and wage stabilization to Feb. 28, 1953, and extend rent, credit and other controls. Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment to delete sections extending price and wage controls, thus ending these controls June 30, 1952. Rejected, 18-52, May 29, 1952. (D 2-40, R 16-12). Nixon AGAINST.

Defense Production Act and Housing and Rent Act Amendments of 1952 (S 2594). Byrd (D Va.) amendment to request President to invoke immediately the national emergency (injunction) provisions of the Taft-Hartley Labor Law in the steel strike. Agreed to, 49-30, June 10, 1952. (D 18-27, R 31-3). Nixon FOR.

Army Civil Functions Appropriation for 1953 (HR 7628). Ferguson (R Mich.) amendment to reduce funds for flood control by \$11,976,700. Rejected, 30-44, June 19, 1952. (D 6-35, R 24-9). Nixon FOR.

Agriculture Appropriation for 1953 (HR 7314). Anderson (D N.M.) amendment as modified by Case (R S.D.) to reduce funds for soil conservation payments by \$100 million and provide that the reduction should be equitably apportioned among the states and individual payments limited to \$2,500. Rejected, 23-35, June 6, 1952. (D 5-29, R 18-6). Nixon FOR.

The Nixon Record

STANDS AND VOTES IN SPECIFIC CATEGORIES

"I believe that those who are attempting to evaluate my record should go to the source rather than those who may have analyzed that record from perhaps a non-objective point of view." December 1958.

"The overwhelming issue is the security and survival of the United States of America...the American people in judging which man they feel should be President...will put as their first qualification whether or not the candidate is best able to handle this issue of survival and all of its aspects.... As far as the domestic issues are concerned, there will be these: ...the role of government in the economy...it is possible that labor-management relations could be an issue (and also) the area of civil rights...." Feb. 6, 1960.

Politics and Administration

The Presidency -- "in this last half of the 20th century, the American Presidents are going to have to be men who have strong convictions; they're going to have to be leaders and men who can make the right decisions in times of crisis and, in addition, win the support of the people for those decisions which might otherwise be unpopular." December 1958.

"My own appraisal is that it cannot be said that one man is a strong leader because he pounds the table...while the other man is not a strong leader because he gets his program through by persuasion...in the '60s -- in addition to knowledge of the issues, in addition to understanding of world affairs, in addition to the basic ability that any leader must have to gain support for his policies -- the American people and the free world need in an American President a man who has judgment -- a man who in a crisis will be cool, a man who won't go off half-cocked..." Jan. 16, 1960.

Philosophy of Government -- "I think that within the United States and in other countries we're going to see a great philosophical battle waged on this issue: Shall we go along with the trend towards increasing substantially the roles of responsibility of government, toward placing more reliance upon government activity, because of the desire of individuals to have government do for them things which they might otherwise have to do for themselves? Or should this trend be resisted, and should we be careful not to let government move into areas which would weaken the responsibility of the individual citizen and diminish his contribution to the national progress we all desire? I believe it would be a great tragedy if the legacy of this generation for the generations ahead was that we reduced the role of individuals in our society at the expense of increasing the role of government." December 1958.

"I was shocked to read the reports in the morning papers to the effect that the preponderance of mail to the State Department opposed the policy the United States is following with regard to Quemoy and Matsu.... What is... of concern is the apparent assumption...that the weight of the mail rather than the weight of the evidence should be the controlling factor in determining American foreign policy. The expression of opinion by people to their elected representatives, by mail or otherwise, is constructive and helpful but it can never be considered the decisive factor in determining the course of policy." Sept. 27, 1958.

"The Republican party should be conservative in its economic policies. But if our conservatism is interpreted to the people as being simply stand-pat, status-quo, hold-the-line, keep-things-as-they-are, we will go down to defeat and deserve it. We must make it clear to the people

that we are conservative because we believe this is the best way to progress -- to produce better jobs, higher wages, better homes, better medical care, more security and all the other good things that people want." April 10, 1959.

"There is a tendency today to say the way to get things done is to have the Government step in and do more, the way it is done in the Soviet Union. I would say we couldn't make any greater mistake than to follow that philosophy in the United States. The Communists have a

monopoly on bureaucracy. We should emphasize our strength -- creative private enterprise." Feb. 3, 1960.

"We Republicans believe in human welfare, but not in the welfare state. The difference is vital. Our aim is to create a climate that favors growth and progress, then letting the people decide for themselves what they will do with their money. The welfare state is based on the idea that government knows best." Oct. 23, 1958.

Nixon's Tie-Breaking Votes and Ties He Did Not Break

Since he became Vice President in January 1953, Nixon has cast seven tie-breaking votes in the Senate.

- He voted twice to take up a controversial conference report on extension of economic controls in the Defense Production Act. June 18, 1953. Tied at 38-38 (R 38-0; D 0-38) and 40-40 (R 40-0; D 0-40).

- He voted to eliminate mandatory 90 percent price supports for millable wheat. March 9, 1956. Tied at 45-45 (D 11-34; R 34-11).

- He voted to amend the 1956 Highway Act to provide that state highway departments, rather than the Secretary of Labor, determine locally prevailing wages to be paid workers employed on construction of the Interstate Highway System. May 29, 1956. Tied at 39-39 (D 14-26; R 25-13).

- He voted to block reconsideration of increasing the interest rate on Veterans Administration GI housing loans from 4.5 to 4.75 percent. March 12, 1958. Tied at 47-47 (D 6-41; R 41-6).

- He voted to block reconsideration of Sen. John L. McClellan's (D Ark.) "Bill of Rights" amendment to the 1959 labor law. April 22, 1959. Tied at 45-45 (D 13-43; R 32-2).

- He voted to block reconsideration of a proposal to authorize increased aid for school construction and teachers' salaries. Feb. 3, 1960. Tied at 44-44 (D 16-40; R 28-4).

When He Did Not Vote

On the following nine tie votes in the Senate, Nixon did not vote. In each case, an affirmative vote by the Vice President would have broken the tie and the item would have carried. His not voting, therefore, had the effect of a negative vote. The comments as to his presence or absence were taken from a record kept by the Senate Parliamentarian.

- Agriculture Appropriation for 1954 (HR 5227). Williams (R Del.) amendment, as modified by Russell (D Ga.), to increase funds for the Agriculture Conservation Program from the Committee figure of \$195 million to \$225 million. Rejected 38-38, June 15, 1953. (R 6-32; D 32-6) -- Vice President did not vote.

- Mutual Security Act of 1955 (S 2090). Capehart (R Ind.) amendment to authorize waiver of Civil Service laws to provide for termination of employment of not more than 200 Foreign Operations Administration employees above the grade GS-9, except veterans. Rejected 40-40, June 2, 1955. (D 0-40; R 40-0) -- Vice President absent.

- Depressed Areas (S 2663). Smith (R N.J.) amendment to place the proposed Area Redevelopment Administration within the Department of Commerce to be headed by an Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Rejected 43-43, July 25, 1956. (D 0-42; R 43-1) -- Vice President absent.

- Emergency Housing Bill (S 3148). Monroney (D Okla.) amendment to eliminate provisions authorizing the Veterans Administration to raise the interest rate on GI loans from 4.5 percent to 4.75 percent. Rejected 47-47, March 12, 1958. (D 41-6; R 6-41) -- Vice President absent.

- Community Facilities Act of 1958 (S 3497), to increase from \$100 million to \$1 billion the fund for loans to states and cities to build public facilities. Thurmond (D S.C.) motion to amend Knowland motion by postponing consideration of S 3497 until April 2, instead of April 14. Rejected 40-40, April 1, 1958. (D 38-2; R 2-38) -- Vice President in chamber but did not vote; was opposed to motion and it lost on tie vote.

- Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958 (HR 12065). Long (D La.) amendment to increase public assistance payments to the aged, blind and disabled by about \$5 per month by raising the maximum monthly federal-state payment per person to \$70 and increasing the federal share of the cost. Rejected 40-40, May 28, 1958. (D 34-5; R 6-35) -- Vice President did not vote.

- Authorize water diversion from Lake Michigan, for one year, under McNamara (D Mich.) amendment, (HR 2). Morton (R Ky.) motion to table a Douglas (D Ill.) motion to recommit the bill with instructions to report back immediately with the McNamara amendment removed. Rejected 28-28, August 23, 1958. (D 8-23; R 20-5) -- Vice President present but did not vote.

- Fiscal 1960 Department of Defense appropriation bill (HR 7454). Thurmond (D S.C.) amendment to reduce from \$100 million to \$80 million funds for the Military Air Transport Service to hire supplementary commercial air carriers, provided in the Defense Department Appropriation bill of 1960, appropriating \$39,594,339,000. Rejected 46-46, July 14, 1959. (D 24-36; R 22-10) -- Vice President in chamber but did not vote.

- Emergency Federal Assistance for School Construction (S 8). Clark (D Pa.) amendment to Committee bill to authorize \$25 per school-age child, or \$1.1 billion per year for an indefinite period for school construction and teachers' salaries. Rejected 44-44, Feb. 3, 1960. (D 39-17; R 5-27) -- Vice President present but did not vote.

"One of the greatest weaknesses of the Republican party is in its failure to win the support of more younger voters.... They must be given an active and important part in our campaign organizations. And one of the most effective ways to enlist their support is to put more young candidates on the ballot at the local, state and federal levels." June 19, 1959.

"I would say it should take a good leaf out of the book of the Conservative party in Britain.... In a nutshell, the Republican party on the organization side has been very deficient...our first problem is one of organization and...adequate financing.... We must get across to the American people a more accurate picture of what we stand for. Too many of the American people believe that the Republican party works only in the interests of Big Business, that we work against the interest of the wage earners, that we're not for the farmers, and that the Democratic party is the party of the people and that the Republican party is the party of the so-called vested interests...in the international field (we) must take a strong, affirmative position.... On the economic side, we must make it clear that we stand for fiscal responsibility." December 1958.

"I personally am not one of those who has been particularly impressed by all the talk about the necessity for the Republican party to change its image. Frankly, I think this creates an impression among the people that the Republican party stands for nothing.... I think that what we ought to do, instead, is to emphasize the principles for which the Republican party stands...." Feb. 17, 1959.

GOP Record -- "The six years of the Republican Administration of Dwight Eisenhower have been the best six years in the history of this country. I can hear our critics starting to bleat already: For whom? For big business? For the rich? My answer is: the best six years for the great majority of the American people." Sept. 29, 1958.

"Republican candidates in 1960 will be able to run on the best eight-year record of any national administration in history." April 10, 1959.

"In 1960, the overwhelming majority of the American people will recognize the striking comparison between the high standards of conduct of this Administration and the low state of ethics and morality of the seven Truman years. No greater service has been rendered by President Eisenhower and his Administration than that of restoring confidence and respect of the American people in the honesty and integrity of our federal officials." June 19, 1959.

"I reject the pessimism of those who say that we are destined to lose (the 1958 Congressional elections). But even if they should prove to be right, my answer for them is this: It is disappointing to lose. But win or lose it is unforgivable to lack the courage to fight for principles we believe in." Oct. 23, 1958.

"In 1960, every Republican candidate will be proud to defend the Eisenhower record against all comers and to ask the American people to register their approval on election day. With such an outstanding record, what do we have to worry about? We can and should be proud of our record. And let me serve notice right here and now that I intend to defend it with all the strength at my command against those who attack it. But, we should look upon our record not as our ultimate achievement but as the solid foundation upon which to build even greater accomplishments in the future." Jan. 27, 1960.

"I think the Republican candidate (in 1960) can win but we will take nothing for granted. It will be no 1948. We will pay attention to only one poll and that is on election day." Feb. 18, 1960.

Democrats -- "And I say that the greatest task we have in the United States is to reestablish the high moral standards of Government service...the standard of conduct of the officials of this (Truman) administration is whether their actions are technically within the letter of the law rather than whether they are right or wrong.... Let's begin by declaring right now that the Republican party will not ask for and will not accept any political contributions from questionable sources." July 3, 1951.

"The tragedy is that our top (Democratic) administration officials have refused time and time again to recognize the existence of the fifth column in this country and to take effective action to clean subversives out of the administrative branch of the Government." July 3, 1951.

President Truman, Secretary of State Acheson and Adlai E. Stevenson "are traitors to the high principles in which many of the Nation's Democrats believe. Real Democrats are outraged by the Truman-Acheson-Stevenson gang's toleration and defense of Communism in high places." Oct. 27, 1952.

"(The issues are) K1-C3, Korea, Communism, Corruption and Controls. This terrible foursome of deep trouble for our Nation spelled battlefield deaths in a war that apparently had no ending...and inability to deal with the globe's number one threat at home and abroad...a domestic cancer eating away at the integrity of our Federal Government...crippling controls that stifled our economy but could not halt inflation." Sept. 17, 1954.

"In a nutshell, the Acheson foreign policy resulted in war and the Eisenhower-Dulles policy resulted in peace." Oct. 13, 1958.

"We believe that the record of this Administration -- which got the United States out of one war, has kept it out of others...proves the wisdom of our policy of firmness and strength...we believe that the policy of weakness and vacillation of the previous Administration...has been tried and found wanting. We have learned once and for all that dealing with dictators -- first with Hitler and then in Korea -- a weak policy is a war policy, a firm policy is a peace policy." Oct. 21, 1958.

"...we are proud of the fact that many Democrats, of which Lyndon Johnson is a notable example, have supported the Eisenhower foreign policy. It is necessary to distinguish in this field, as in many other fields, between the present Congressional leadership of the Democratic party which is essentially moderate in its approach to economic problems and by-partisan in its approach to foreign policy problems, from the leadership which presently controls the Democratic National Committee which is radical in its approach to economic problems and...bitterly partisan in its criticism of the Eisenhower foreign policy.... I do not question the right or the responsibility of the radical wing of the Democratic party to question our policies.... I do not question the sincerity or patriotism... There is no war party in the United States.... There is no party of surrender.... There is only one party of treason... the Communist party...." Oct. 21, 1958.

Campaign Tactics -- "What about tactics? I believe there is only one sure-fire formula for victory. We have to work, we have to fight, and we have to stand for something." July 3, 1951.

"I believe in a fighting political party. But, except for contests to select candidates in primaries, I believe we should fight our political battles with our opponents and not with members of our own party." June 6, 1957.

"The President in his press conference today said that he did not believe that when an attack is made on the foreign policy of the United States that it should be answered.... For the President of the United States this I think is a proper position. But I will say this also, that for us who have the responsibility of carrying the weight of this campaign to stand by and to allow our policies to be attacked with impunity by our opponents without reply would lead to inevitable defeat. I intend to continue to answer.... One of the reasons the Republican party is in trouble today is because, over the past two years particularly, we have allowed people to criticize our policies and we have not stood up and answered effectively." Oct. 15, 1958.

"...we start with the basic cliché, that an individual must be a politician before he can be a statesman. That means, of course, that in order to be able to affect the course of events in a legislative body, or in a nation, an individual must first gain the support of a majority of the voters.... How can (a candidate) get his case across, and at the same time maintain the statesmanlike approach? The answer is that it's a question of judgment in each particular campaign. A number of factors enter in.... Now in this field, as most people are aware and certainly as my critics are very much aware, I believe in vigorous sharp debate during a political campaign. I also believe in sharp debate in the halls of Congress.... I would say that the general rule that should be followed is that the personality of your opponent -- his record and his statements -- should properly be brought into the debate only when the personality is inextricably tied to the issue, when that is the most effective way of making the issue properly understood." December 1958.

"Now (as) to the motives that I am alleged to impute to my opponents, I have consistently in the course of my campaigns maintained that where the record an individual makes, his record of voting, his public remarks on issues, indicates how he might approach an international or a national problem, that record should be brought to the attention of the people. I expect mine to be brought forth, and I think it's my responsibility to present the records of my opponents in that respect. Now sometimes a record may be one that is not going to be particularly popular with the people when it is brought forth, but in that instance I have never considered that it is unfair tactics." December 1958.

"It certainly will not be (a mudslinging Presidential campaign) as far as I'm concerned. I believe (it) should be...hard-hitting.... As for personal attacks, I can only say that there will not be any as far as I am concerned.... I will stand on my record...I intend to hit hard on the issues in the campaign. I expect my opponents...to hit hard...of course, all of us agree that (religion) should not be an issue." Feb. 15, 1960.

GOP Convention -- "(The 1956 Convention) was not as exciting a Convention as the Democratic Convention, but we still won that election and that is what we expect to do this time." Feb. 15, 1960.

Vice Presidency -- "...I do not intend to be a candidate for Vice President in 1960." Feb. 17, 1959.

"...as one who voted for the two-term amendment limiting the holding of the Presidency to two terms, I

think it would be inconsistent for me to seek the Vice Presidency for a third term." April 18, 1959.

Running Mate -- "I do not believe that either party should pick their Vice Presidential candidate for the purpose of balancing the ticket geographically (or) ideologically.... The primary consideration...must be: Can the man who is nominated serve...potentially as President... he must be a man who...has as close an identity as possible with the views of the Presidential candidate.... I would not have been able to do nearly as much as I have been able to do had the President not had confidence in the fact that I shared his views on major issues...." Feb. 8, 1960.

"...a public figure is a lonely man -- the President very much more so, of course. But even in my job, you can't enjoy the luxury of intimate personal friendships. You can't confide absolutely in anyone about your personal plans, your personal feelings." July 12, 1958.

"I write all my own speeches. I make up my own mind what to say." July 12, 1958.

"The function of a politician is, after all, to make a free society work." July 12, 1958.

Rockefeller -- "Nelson Rockefeller is one of the best candidates I have ever seen in public life. I think he will make a splendid governor. If he should get the nomination for the Presidency in 1960, he will make an excellent campaigner and a fine candidate." Nov. 28, 1958.

"I think that the Republican party is fortunate to have, as a governor of a major state, a man who has proved that he could get elected when many other Republicans were losing and a man who, as governor of the state, inherited some very difficult problems and has dealt with them courageously and ably." April 18, 1959.

Religion -- "Which of the ideals taught by our churches have the deepest meaning for a conscientious government official? ...religion teaches the God-given dignity of every man. We are all children of one God. Whether we be rich or poor, white or colored, American or foreign, we have a common creator.... Another religious ideal is that of the brotherhood of mankind...religion teaches us a sense of justice." Aug. 5, 1956.

Politics and Administration - Votes

Nixon in 1947 voted for the constitutional amendment limiting Presidents to two terms in office. No Republican Representative voted against this proposal.

In 1950 he voted for a proposed constitutional amendment to provide that electoral votes of each state for President and Vice President be divided in proportion to the popular vote within the state. The proposal was rejected.

Foreign Policy - Stands

"...a true bipartisan foreign policy means that it must be bipartisan in its inception and creation as well as in its execution." July 3, 1947.

"As far as foreign policy is concerned, I would say that in this field I am labeled as a liberal rather than a conservative because I take an international view rather than an isolationist view on foreign policy." Feb. 17, 1959.

"...you cannot expect to meet and defeat (aggression) with a force that is static...we...must not only see that our

Nixon-Sponsored Bills

These are major bills sponsored by Nixon alone or with others while he was in Congress. He sponsored 47 bills and co-sponsored 28 others from 1947-52.

1947 -- H Con Res 68 to call a conference to strengthen the United Nations Charter. No action. He also helped write the Taft-Hartley Act as a member of the House Education and Labor Committee.

1948 -- HR 5132 to establish states' title to tide-lands and authorize states to use their title for oil drilling and other purposes. No action.

Nixon also helped Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R S.D.) write a bill (HR 5852) to require Communist-front organizations to register with the Attorney General. The bill was incorporated in the Internal Security Act of the 81st Congress.

1949 -- HR 3342 to make it unlawful to conspire to perform any act that would aid in the establishment in the U.S. of a totalitarian dictatorship under foreign control; require Communist-front organizations to register and make it unlawful for Government employees to pass documents to members of Communist organizations. No action.

1950 -- H Res 665 to create a special committee to investigate veterans' hospitals. No action.

1951 -- S 49 to admit Hawaii and S 50 to admit Alaska into the Union. Both bills reported to the Senate but no further action taken.

S 1390 to make it a violation of law for any officer of the Federal Government to dismiss or otherwise discipline a Government employee for testifying before a Congressional Committee. Passed Senate July 23, 1951.

S 1811 to suspend statute of limitations on offenses by Government officials. Reported in Senate.

S 1976 to provide home rule for the District of Columbia. Passed Senate Jan. 22, 1952.

S 2235 to make it a federal offense for a U.S. employee to receive money from a national committee of a political party. No action.

S 2299 to prohibit a member or employee of any national political committee from practicing before or attempting to influence any department or agency of the U.S. No action.

S Con Res 42 to urge President to obtain international agreement to a complete inventory of all armaments and on a disarmament program. No action.

S Res 150 to request President to urge Greece, Spain and Turkey to form a treaty similar to NATO or invite them to join NATO. No action.

S Con Res 4 to ask President to invite NATO to explore feasibility of free Federal Union. No action.

S Res 126 to express sense of Senate that President did not act in best interests of the people in relieving Gen. Douglas MacArthur of his command. No action.

S 2056 to amend the National Labor Relations Act to permit motion picture and maritime labor unions to require an employee to join the union after his first day of work. No action.

1952 -- S Res 239 to express lack of confidence in Philip C. Jessup, former State Department ambassador at large. No action.

S 2411 to require Bureau of Internal Revenue officers to be appointed under civil service system. No action.

S J Res 130 (Bricker amendment) to restrict treaty-making power of the President. No action.

S 3450 to provide fines and/or imprisonment for bribing Government employees. No action.

system works here but we must recognize that ours is the true revolution and we must convey that message more effectively than we have in the past to the peoples all over the world who want a better way of life." April 18, 1959.

"In the record of American policy, as it has unfolded since the time of Korea, our national resolves to stand firm against Communist aggression are clearly revealed. This has particularly been the case since the policy of containment matured into the policy of deterrence." April 13, 1959.

"What we in the United States and other free nations must do is to associate ourselves unequivocally and directly with these great causes other people believe in and that we believe in -- peace, equality, independence and economic progress." June 12, 1954.

"Let us talk less about our world leadership and more about our partnership with other free nations." June 27, 1957.

"...I am convinced that within the next ten years, if war comes, it will come probably because of miscalculation and not because of action by either side intended to initiate hostilities. Having this in mind, then, I look at the next ten years -- I can even say the next 25 years -- convinced that the area of greatest danger is in the economic and ideological fields." December 1958.

"In the field of foreign policy, I took the same position in the (1958) campaign that I have taken ever since I came

to Congress in 1947.... Beginning with the Marshall Plan and the Greek-Turkish aid program I have consistently supported our mutual security program.... In addition to that, I have always insisted that the non-military aspects of the world struggle are the most critical ones confronting us." December 1958.

Economic Aid -- "The dollars that we are spending in the economic field for mutual assistance are just as important as the dollars we are spending for our missiles, our aircraft, and our divisions overseas and at home." Nov. 13, 1957.

"The billion dollars we are spending for economic assistance to these uncommitted areas...is an investment in our own freedom and independence. It is the premium we pay to insure our survival as a free people." June 9, 1957.

"...We cannot ignore the fact that a dictator state... can in the short run achieve spectacular results by concentrating its full power in any given direction. That is why the challenge we face in the economic field is one which it would be folly to underestimate." Oct. 15, 1957.

"...the uncommitted nations...want economic progress so that they can raise their deplorably low living standards. They would prefer to gain that progress and keep their freedom and independence at the same time. But if there is no other answer they will turn to the

Communist world for help. Our purpose is not to buy friends but to help them develop the economic and political strength and independence which is the antithesis of Communist domination." June 27, 1957.

"...private capital (abroad) is expansible, almost to an unlimited extent, whereas government capital, insofar as our country...is concerned, is limited...by our own budget...(also) where government capital is concerned, there is occasionally a question that there might be political implications involved...both government and private capital are necessary." May 4, 1959.

"...today, some of those who lead the fight against Communism in the United States condemn as giveaways and do-goodism the vital expenditures needed to meet and defeat the threat of Communism abroad. I recognize that there has been waste and inefficiency in our information, exchange and economic programs.... This is a new field for Americans -- mistakes are inevitable." Jan. 27, 1959.

"I would be less than candid if I were not to admit that in this field (foreign economic aid programs) and the field of information the United States has a number of people who are not too competent abroad. We have had them in the past, we have now...." Nov. 14, 1957.

Trade -- "...the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act should be extended for at least five years.... We should complete our membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation.... The economic sections of our embassies should be up-graded...when tax revision becomes feasible, Congress should...extend to investors...the 14-point income tax credit for which Western Hemisphere Trade Corporations are already eligible.... Congress should consider the feasibility of (deferring) taxes on income and profits earned entirely abroad... Congress should require...that at least 25 percent of the foreign currencies we now acquire under our agricultural aid program be made available for loans to United States (companies) in those countries...." Oct. 15, 1957.

"World tensions will not be eased until the flows of trade minimize the traditional fears and jealousies of nations. Trade is essential in keeping our allies.... Trade is essential to our own economy...the basic interest of the U.S. demands that the barriers to trade must be reduced." Dec. 6, 1957.

"We must (recognize) that the task of providing the necessary capital for investment in underdeveloped countries is a job too big for mere Government money. Only private money, privately managed, can do it right in many sectors of needed development. And private investment requires a sound and reliable framework of laws in which to work. Our laws should permit the establishment of Foreign Business Corporations meriting special tax treatment, so that their foreign earnings can be reinvested abroad free of United States tax until the United States investor actually receives his reward. In addition, more tax treaties should be speedily negotiated to permit 'tax sparing' and other reciprocal encouragements to investors. The ICA guaranty program should be extended to include such risks as revolution and civil strife." April 13, 1959.

To a tariff question by a manufacturer worried about cheap imports. America's policy should be "more trade, not less." Domestic industries should be protected against hardship, but this is best done by discussions with foreign governments rather than imposing restrictive quotas. Feb. 19, 1960.

Russia -- "...We can make no greater mistake than to underestimate the ability of those who guide the destiny of the Soviet empire today.... We are not going to change Communist policy with a smile or a handshake. They are hard-headed realists motivated by their own self-interest. They will respect us only if we stand firmly by our principles and our ideals." Jan. 27, 1959.

"...whatever we may think of the (Communist) system, we must make no mistake about it that those who are advocates of that system have...a burning faith...that their system is right and...will prevail...above everything else, we need faith, a faith stronger than Mr. Mikoyan's, a faith not only in the rightness of our cause, but faith in God and a belief that the rights which come only from God, that those rights not only belong to us but they are also the rights of people throughout the world...." March 12, 1959.

"...to me, the concept of co-existence is completely inadequate and negative. Co-existence implies that the world must be divided into two hostile camps with a wall of hate and fear between. What we need today is not two worlds, but one world...." Aug. 1, 1959.

"Our answer...must be to talk less of the threat of the Communist revolution and more of the promise of the American revolution.... The Communist world has made gains but at the cost of inhuman sacrifices and of moral and spiritual values. And it is significant to note that they are sending their experts here to learn our methods." Sept. 6, 1958.

"...we should talk more of our faith in freedom and less of our fear of Communism...." Feb. 14, 1959.

"In looking over the (four) speeches I have made in previous years (to the Veterans of Foreign Wars), I find that I have in each one spoken of the threat of international Communism...I chose that subject...because I believed that was the greatest issue before the United States and the world. Today I shall speak...on the same subject...." Aug. 31, 1959.

"I believe the decision (to invite Premier Khrushchev) was justified and wise, and will serve the best interests of the people." Sept. 20, 1959.

"...there are those who...seem to assume that if we treat Mr. Khrushchev well...he may soften his rigid positions and the differences between us will eventually melt away. This kind of thinking is incredibly naive...." Sept. 14, 1959.

"...in spite of the truly remarkable progress the Soviet people have made in science...we have every reason to be confident that over all -- in education, in science, in production -- we are ahead of the Soviet Union and can stay ahead...and that freedom, not Communism, is the wave of the future.... Above all, what we need in those who represent us abroad, whether they are in government, business or education, is dedication to American ideals, understanding of the differences between the principles of Communism and of free societies, and a tough-minded, disciplined determination to work longer and harder for our cause than the Communists do for theirs... there is nothing this nation needs more, particularly among its young people, than an intelligent, unshakable dedication to the universal ideals of freedom, justice and peace, which are the heart of our American heritage." Oct. 5, 1959.

Exchange of Persons -- "May I emphasize...the overwhelming importance of expanding our program for exchange of persons." June 7, 1956.

"...If the Soviet Union would agree to a regular exchange of radio and television broadcasts, as proposed by Secretary Dulles and Senator (Lyndon B.) Johnson (D Texas), real progress could be made.... We should put at least equal emphasis on another program which too often is treated as a stepchild by both the Executive Department and the Congress in allocating funds in the information field -- our cultural and persons exchange program...(instead of the present 12,000) I believe we should set as our goal bringing at least 25,000 leaders a year from foreign countries to the United States. It is particularly important that we show greater initiative in attempting to increase on a large scale the exchange of persons program with the Soviet Union and its European satellites." June 27, 1957.

The foreign policy area "which I think is the surest one, where you can spend your money the best, is" -- rather than in propaganda by "bigger radiotransmitters, more press releases, more motion pictures" -- "in the exchange of peoples. I think this can be greatly stepped up; I do not refer merely to exchange of students. I mean exchange of government leaders, opinion makers, business, labor and cultural leaders between the newly developing countries and all countries of the free world. Providing for greatly expanded programs in this field would be the best investment we could make to assure victory in the ideological battle." December 1958.

United Nations -- "It is far from being a perfect instrument for settling international disputes. But in providing a forum for discussion of differences and for mobilizing world opinion against the use of force as an instrument of national policy, it renders a significant service to the cause of peace." Sept. 14, 1959.

Trips Abroad -- "I can testify from personal experience on this score on the basis of visits to 40 countries in the past four years (that) there is a well of friendship for the people of the United States among the people of other lands." June 27, 1957.

(Following Latin American trip.) "I have never taken a trip yet in which I have not had at least some warning somebody was going to try to kill me or member of my party. I can only say that if we allowed what I would call a bunch of blackmailing bullies to keep the officials of the Government of the United States from doing what we think needs to be done to carry out our foreign policy, then we better get off the face of the earth." May 21, 1958.

Latin America -- "We must not allow incidents of this type (anti-Nixon demonstrations in Peru and Venezuela) to obscure the real feeling of friendship and affection that the majority of the people of Latin America have for the people of the United States. There is no question in my mind that in the end the results of this trip will prove to be beneficial.... It would be a great mistake just to attribute what happened in Venezuela to Communism. It is true that the Communists spearheaded the attack, but you have to remember that they had a lot of willing spear carriers along with them.... This was because there happened to be in Venezuela at the time some real problems with regard to the relations between Venezuela and the United States." May 21, 1958.

"I believe it is essential from the standpoint of American foreign policy that we talk to (labor and university student) groups. I can assure you it is a lot easier to run one of these trips like some people want them

run, a round of cocktail parties and white-tie dinners... but...if we continue to concentrate primarily on that area, we might as well figure right now we are going to lose the battle." May 21, 1958.

"...we must prove...that when private enterprise comes into Latin America...we do so not for the purpose of simply keeping in power a group of the elite (nor) of making the rich richer and keeping the poor poorer...but that...our policies are designed...to raise the standards of living of the miserably poor people all over Latin America...through a program of private enterprise of the 20th Century enlightened type...combined with government assistance in those areas where private enterprise cannot do the job." May 21, 1958.

If Cuba confiscated American-owned property without compensation, "Cuba must expect some reaction." Noting that the American public currently paid a premium for Cuban sugar, he said: "We believe that was in our best interest in the past, but there are other Latin American countries -- Mexico and Peru -- that would like larger quotas. I am not suggesting that the quota will be changed. I am only suggesting that the pressure within Congress will be very great to change it as long as Cuban government policies involve confiscation of American interests...." Jan. 16, 1960.

"...the Cuban people themselves will not tolerate a Communist government or a Communist take-over." April 18, 1959.

U.S. Relations with Dictatorships -- "In our diplomatic relations with countries throughout the world, the United States...has had and has today -- and I think must continue to have -- diplomatic relations with other countries and with what happens to be the government in power in those countries at a particular time.... In our relations with countries that have forms of government that we may find unattractive or repugnant to us (as in Latin America) we should have a proper relationship, a handshake, so-called." Feb. 6, 1960.

Indo-China -- Said U.S. troops might have to be sent to Indo-China in a last-ditch effort to save the area from Communist domination if the French were to withdraw their troops. April 16, 1954.

The aim of the Eisenhower Administration was to hold Indo-China "without a war involving the U.S. if we can." April 20, 1954.

Liberation of Captive Nations -- "To those who scoffed at (Dulles') advocacy of peaceful liberation for the captive peoples, he was stating the only position that a self-respecting, free people could take." June 19, 1959.

Neutrality -- "It is only natural that we should feel closer to those who stand with us as allies in the effort to keep the world free. But we...cherish also the friendship of other nations who share our dedication to the principles of democracy and freedom even though they have not seen fit to ally themselves with us politically and militarily. But there is still another brand of neutrality that makes no moral distinction between the Communist world and the free world. With this viewpoint, we have no sympathy." July 4, 1956.

Africa -- "The importance of Africa to the strength and stability of the free world is too great for us to underestimate.... It is vitally important that the United States

Government follow closely trade union developments in the continent of Africa and that our diplomatic and consular representatives should come to know on an intimate basis the trade union leaders in these countries.... I strongly support the creation within the Department of State of a new Bureau of African Affairs." March 1957.

Asia -- "...when I was in Asia in 1953, some of those who were Asian experts told me that all you have to do to keep Asia from going Communist was to give every Asian another bowl of rice.... I think this is a great fallacy...because it assumes that the entire answer to the threat that the Communists pose...can be found by assuring economic progress...the economic approach is not their sole interest. They want something else out of life... the basic freedoms which we cherish in the Western world." December 1958.

Formosa -- Called Formosa "not the symbol of Chiang Kai-shek" but "what is more important, the symbol of a free government" which maintains hope that Red control of the mainland forever is not "inevitable." Oct. 22, 1958.

Suez -- "If we had supported our friends and allies, Britain and France, in Egypt, they might have won a military victory in that area. But they and we would have lost the moral support of the whole world. Because we took the position we did, the peoples of Africa and Asia know now that we walk with them as moral equals, that we do not have one standard of law for the West and another for the East.... Because we stood firmly against the use of force in Egypt, we were in a moral position to condemn the ruthless and barbarous Soviet conquest of (Hungary)... Our only weapon here was moral condemnation, since the alternative was action on our part which might initiate the third and ultimate world war." Dec. 6, 1956.

Korea -- "Let's suppose that tomorrow any one of the countries in the so-called uncommitted area were attacked overtly by the Soviet Union, what would our reaction be? We would spend billions of dollars and thousands of lives in order to meet the attack...to keep that country from coming under domination.... That's why we went to the aid of Korea; that's why the United States has fought practically all of the recent wars." Nov. 14, 1957.

Red China -- "...I can think of nothing which would be more detrimental to the cause of freedom and peace... than to recognize Red China and admit it to the United Nations at this time.... Now, will (this position) never change? The answer is: it will change, but only when the policies of the Communist Chinese Government change." Feb. 6, 1960.

Intervention in Lebanon -- "It was necessary for the United States to show that when the chips were down, even though there were the risks of war, we would stand by our friends." July 19, 1958.

Foreign Policy - Votes

Nixon favored the big post-World War II military and economic assistance programs for Europe, the relief programs and ratification of the peace treaties. He frequently opposed foreign aid cuts, often in opposition to the majority of his party.

Bricker Amendment -- Nixon was one of the 57 sponsors of the original Bricker Amendment in 1952, providing that treaties should not take precedence over the Constitution or become internal law without additional legislation by Congress. As Vice President, however, he opposed such an amendment.

NATO -- In 1949 Nixon voted to extend military aid to North Atlantic Treaty Organization nations, though he favored a smaller authorization than the Administration asked. In 1952 he favored inviting Greece and Turkey to join NATO, after previously voting for Greek-Turkish aid in 1947.

In 1951 Nixon approved assigning U.S. troops to Europe but voted that no additional U.S. ground troops should be sent to Europe without Congressional approval.

Foreign Aid -- Nixon voted for the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) in 1948, and in 1949 he voted for the extension of the program carried on by the Economic Cooperation Administration. He voted for the Mutual Security Program in 1951 and 1952, opposing most amendments to reduce the authorization. In 1952 Nixon favored an amendment limiting expenditures for materials and equipment under the Point Four technical assistance program.

Nixon opposed passage of a Korean aid bill in 1950, but later that year he supported the Far Eastern Assistance Act which included aid for Korea. In 1951 he favored making aid available to India on a loan basis with credit based on an agreement to provide the U.S. with strategic materials. In 1949 he voted for aid to China and for Chinese students studying in the U.S.

In 1947 Nixon voted for the foreign relief bill but voted to bar relief to any Russian-dominated country. In 1950 he voted for emergency relief to Yugoslavia. This was one of his first Senate votes.

China -- In 1951 he opposed admitting Communist China to the United Nations.

Foreign Trade -- In 1949 Nixon voted for extension of the Reciprocal Trade Program after previously voting to recommit the bill because the "peril point" provision had been dropped. He also favored extension of reciprocal trade in 1951. In 1952 he voted to retain existing controls on imports of fats and oils, rice and dairy products and to extend such controls to grain.

Other -- Nixon in 1950 opposed legislation providing for foreign investment guarantees by the Export-Import Bank. He favored, in 1947, the establishment of the foreign information service (Voice of America). In 1950 he voted to increase the authorization for U.S. contributions to international organizations. In 1952, Nixon favored ratification of the Japanese peace treaty without reservations and a federal republic in Western Germany.

Immigration -- In 1952 Nixon voted to override President Truman's veto of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, tightening citizenship requirements and retaining the 1924 quota formula.

World Court - Stands

"Our primary problem today is not the creation of new international institutions, but the fuller and more fruitful use of the institutions, we already possess.... We should take the initiative in urging that in future

(international) agreements provisions be included to the effect: (1) That disputes which may arise as to the interpretation of the agreement should be submitted to the International Court of Justice at The Hague, and (2) that the nations signing the agreement should be bound by the decision in such cases." April 13, 1959.

"History will...record that the 'inflexibility' and 'brinkmanship' for which (Dulles) was criticized in truth represented basic principles of the highest order." June 8, 1959.

"...we must have something other than the balance of terror or the rule of terror...the rule of law. Men who are thinking intelligently and constructively in this field have to offer some means to make progress toward this end. The repeal of the Connally Amendment is a small step, but an important step in that direction.... The (World) Court's jurisdiction is limited to international matters only. I believe that so long as the United States insists on a reservation in which we say, in effect, 'We will not submit anything to that Court unless we, ourselves, determine in each individual case whether we want to,' the International Court is never going to amount to anything. I say that if the United States, which believes in the rule of law between individuals, does not take the lead with our firm beliefs and with our strength, in submitting our differences with other countries, to the World Court, we can't expect other countries to do so. In view of the terrible alternative with which we are faced, I believe it is the only constructive action that the Senate of the United States should take under the circumstances." Jan. 15, 1960.

Defense - Stands

"We can disagree as to what the level (of military strength) should be. But where the decisions as to the character and quantity of our defense were made after months of study of facts available from all over the world by a man with the experience and background of the President of the United States, I say that anyone who would make substantial cuts in that budget below the amounts recommended is taking a risk with America's security which the American people will not and should not support." June 27, 1957.

"I say Americans reject completely the philosophy that sells America short, the philosophy that plays politics with our national security with loose talk of America's weakness.... The grave danger is that the enemy might well believe this claptrap and make the mistake of launching war against us." Oct. 1, 1958.

The U.S. should "resolve once and for all that the absolute necessity of maintaining our superiority in military strength must always take priority over the understandable desire to reduce our taxes." Oct. 15, 1957.

"There have been other times in our history when we have not been first in science.... But there has been no time in...history...when, once we knew that we had a job to do and once we put our talent to the solution...we were not able to solve it." Nov. 13, 1957.

"Under no circumstances should the United States and its allies reduce their (military) strength" as a result of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's announcement that Russia would cut its military forces by 1.2 million men. Jan. 15, 1960.

"Every...service has particular weapons...it believes should be included.... In the instance of the B-70, I think the President's decision (to) continue it on a research basis...is a proper one." Jan. 15, 1960.

Missile Gap -- "...three or four years from now while there may arise a situation where they may have more intercontinental ballistic missiles, as for example they now have more submarines than we have, the time will never arrive when our overall strength will not be sufficient that they could not risk an attack on us without bringing upon them damage that they would not voluntarily want to bring upon themselves." April 18, 1959.

"Despite what Mr. Khrushchev says about his awesome weapons, he knows as we know that he does not have, and I will say further he will not acquire in the foreseeable future, the power, regardless of what kind of an attack is launched, to knock out the deterrent power that we have." Jan. 15, 1960.

"...keeping this on a completely non-political basis, may I say...that the reason we are behind in developing the very large size rockets...is that we did little to begin our ballistic missile program until after President Eisenhower assumed the Presidency, whereas the Russians began...in 1946...the failure of the previous Administration...was not entirely political but was chiefly military in character.... there comes a point with modern weapons when there are enough -- enough to destroy the targets against which an attack is directed.... As long as Mr. Khrushchev, or any other potential aggressor, knows that if he starts something he runs the risk of massive retaliation, there will be that deterrent in the back of his mind." Jan. 16, 1960.

"We need constant examination and constructive criticism of our defense posture, pointing up our weaknesses where they exist. But constructive criticism is one thing; making America appear weaker than she is to potential aggressors is another. It is time to quit selling America short. We are not a second-rate country, with second-rate military strength and a second-rate economy. No aggressor in the world today can knock out the deterrent striking power of the United States and its allies. This is the case today and it will continue to be so in the future.... Because we are living in an age of rapid technological advances in military science, we must submit our national security programs to a searching, month-to-month reexamination...." Jan. 27, 1960.

"(There is) no missile gap of consequence." Feb. 15, 1960.

There is no "deterrent gap" in American defenses and will not be "in 1961, 1962, 1963, or the foreseeable future." The Administration's program "is and will be devised to assure the American people that there will be no deterrent gap." Feb. 19, 1960.

"...anyone who suggests that the President...has told the Congress one thing and the people another thing, simply doesn't know the President of the United States.... When it comes to national defense, Administration critics in Congress take only part of the picture when it should be viewed as a whole." Feb. 20, 1960.

Sputnik -- "We could make no greater mistake than to brush off this event as a scientific stunt of more significance to the man in the moon than to men on earth." (Nixon was the first person in the Administration to point out the new challenge presented by the Oct. 4, 1957, launching of the Russian satellite). Oct. 15, 1957.

Defense - Votes

While in Congress, Nixon consistently favored strong defense and a continuation of selective service.

Draft -- In 1951, as in 1948 and 1950, he voted to extend the draft. The 1951 bill contained a provision for a universal military training program to begin at a later date, and Nixon voted against an attempt to kill the UMT provision. He also voted against an amendment to reduce the induction age from 19 to 18, a 36-month limit on enlistments and eliminating deferments for 75,000 men to continue technical and scientific studies (but also opposed the deferment of 150,000 for that purpose.)

In 1950 Nixon voted to draft doctors and dentists into the armed forces and voted for legislation authorizing the enlistment of 2,500 aliens in the U.S. armed forces.

Air Force Strength -- In 1949 Nixon opposed reducing U.S. Air Force groups from 58 to 48 and later that same year he voted for a 70-group Air Force. In 1948 he voted for funds for Air Force expansion and in 1952 opposed efforts to reduce funds for Air Force maintenance and operation, research and development. In 1951 he opposed a cut in the Defense Department appropriation.

Military Pay -- In 1952 Nixon favored an increase in armed service pay but favored cutting flight and submarine duty incentive pay. In 1951 he favored reducing the number of Air Force officers entitled to draw extra flight pay. In 1952 he voted against reducing the inducement pay for doctors and dentists.

Other -- In 1949 Nixon voted for reorganization of the military establishment. In 1950 he voted to authorize the appointment of Gen. George C. Marshall as Secretary of Defense.

Disarmament - Stands

"The Free World's military strength is the major deterrent to war today. If we reduce our strength and the Communists do not make a corresponding reduction in theirs, the risk of war will be correspondingly increased. A bad disarmament agreement therefore would be worse than none at all. The road to war is paved with agreements based solely on mutual trust. That is why we serve the cause of peace when we insist that we will not make an agreement to reduce our own armed strength unless an inspection system is put into effect...." June 27, 1957.

Nuclear Tests -- "...Mr. Stevenson proposes that we quit testing our hydrogen bombs provided the Communists agree to do likewise.... Mr. Stevenson's brand of peace seems to amount to achieving peace through weakness. But the Eisenhower Administration believes in keeping the peace by staying powerful." Oct. 16, 1956.

Anyone urging a resumption of nuclear weapons tests "at this point" was ignorant of the facts. "Having all the facts, I can say the President reached the right decision" in deciding not to renew U.S. atmospheric tests while test ban negotiations were still going on. The current negotiations with Russia, Great Britain and other nations could lead to an effective inspection system while the tests were in abeyance. However, if the negotiations "reach a dead end", the U.S. would have no choice but to continue the tests underground. "Any testing", either for military or for peaceful purposes, could now be conducted underground "without danger of fallout". Nov. 12, 1959.

"The position I take is the position of the Administration with regard to nuclear testing, and I think it is one that...should have the support of the American people." Jan. 16, 1960.

Economic Policy - Stands

"...as far as my economic philosophy is concerned, it has always been what I would call a conservative philosophy, conservative certainly on fiscal matters, conservative in the sense that I believe that, generally speaking, private enterprise can do a more effective job than government enterprise in any particular field, although I recognize that there are some areas where private enterprise can't or won't do the job and where government enterprise must step in." December 1958.

"I believe that those of us who are economic conservatives (and I would put myself in that category. I believe in fiscal responsibility. I believe in the kind of policies that encourage the private sector of economy and enhance the growth of private enterprise rather than policies which rely on the government for the solution of all problems.) ...must cast our conservatism in progressive terms. We oppose those (non-conservatives) because those programs will not work. And we should make it clear to the American people that the reason we are conservative is that history tells us this is the way to progress...if we continue to have faith in the private-enterprise system in this country, if we continue to supplement that system only where private enterprise cannot or will not do the job -- supplement it then with government action -- this is the way to progress." Feb. 17, 1959.

"...the conservative policies work better but they are much more difficult to understand and...sell. It is... difficult to inform the public that the government can follow certain policies which can create a climate for growth but that direct responsibility for growth is primarily on the private sector of the economy...." Nov. 2, 1959.

"The major difference is that we believe the way to real progress and prosperity is through programs which rely primarily on private rather than government enterprise.... Our aim is a gross national product of \$500 billion by 1965. If we attain that goal, the resources will be available to build the roads, schools, houses, and to meet the other great social needs of the American people." Oct. 19, 1955.

"What should the role of government be in promoting growth? It must always be a supporting role supplementing and stimulating rather than supplanting private enterprise.... Here are some things that government can do: It can maintain fiscal stability so that gains in productivity will not be eaten away by constant inflation. It can adopt tax and depreciation policies which will encourage rather than retard growth. It can take action against monopoly and restraints on the free market imposed by either business or labor. It can continue to...support...

CQ Voting Scores

Following are Nixon's Party Unity, Bipartisan Support and On The Record scores for the 80th and 81st Congresses (House figures) and for the 82nd Congress (Senate figures):

	Party Unity	Bipartisan Support	On the Record
80th Congress (1947-48)	91%	96%	88%
81st Congress (1949-50)	74	95	79
82nd Congress (1951-52)	70	87	91

the battle against discrimination that denies us the potential contribution of millions of productive citizens." Feb. 15, 1960.

"We must make it clear that the reason we oppose huge new Governmental spending programs is not because we oppose the goals of the programs but because we know they won't produce what they promise; and we must, at the same time, show how our policy can accomplish these very objectives." December 1958.

"...these great power complexes -- whether they are business, labor or government -- (should) not work against the interests of the individual -- (nor) have the effect of cutting off and discouraging the inventiveness, the individuality (of America)." April 18, 1959.

"Completion of our 41,000-mile interstate highway system, doubling the facilities of our colleges and universities, elimination of the pockets of poverty that trouble the conscience of a rich nation, restoring the vitality and beauty of our cities through urban renewal -- all these goals are attainable well within this generation." Sept. 6, 1958.

Automation -- "We must affirmatively explore ways to remove barriers to automation and increased efficiency. If management and labor do not move effectively in these areas on their own initiative, pressure for Government intervention in order to maintain the U.S. competitive position will become irresistible." Feb. 15, 1960.

Business and Industry -- "I believe in leaving as much as possible to the states. For example, I didn't believe in stealing the tidelands from Texas and California." July 14, 1952.

"In my opinion, fair trade or price-fixing is inconsistent in a free enterprise economy." May 27, 1959.

Balanced Budget -- "I think that any Administration...would be taking a completely irresponsible position...to simply wink at and to laugh off additional expenditures which might unbalance the budget without national security reasons to do so. Adding to the debt has the over-all effect of harming the savings and the earnings of millions of Americans." Feb. 15, 1960.

"...We must not allow the fear of a temporary budget deficit to put us in a strait jacket which will keep us from doing what we ought to do to insure economic growth...." Sept. 6, 1958.

"We must learn that we cannot add new programs to the federal budget unless we are prepared to levy the taxes to pay for them." Sept. 6, 1958.

Inflation -- "We should point out why inflation is wrong. The fear of what will happen to the value of our pensions, our Social Security, our life insurance and the cost of living will concern young people just as it does older voters. But we should also point out why a sound dollar is right. Only when the dollar tomorrow and five years from tomorrow will buy as much as it will today, can you save and plan for your future." June 19, 1959.

"Business also has a job to do to prevent inflation. It must resist upward pressures upon cost. It must...cut down on waste.... Above all it must have the daring and imagination to price for volume sales with low unit profits. ...our union leaders in their contract negotiations (should be) guided by this basic principle -- that wage increases which force price increases are not in the best interest of union members." Sept. 6, 1958.

Chronic Unemployment -- "The fact that there are more jobs at higher wages available to Americans than at any time in history does not weaken our determination to develop effective programs in which areas of chronic unemployment can be restored to healthy, productive units of our economy." Jan. 27, 1960.

Taxation -- "...as to what further action might be taken, if necessary, I believe that where the choice is between massive new public works spending...and a tax cut, I personally favor a tax cut.... And it must be an across-the-board approach -- one that will not only put more money in the hands of consumers and purchasers but also will put more money in the hands of investors and job creators." March 10, 1958.

"In this day of rapid technological change we need more liberal treatment of depreciation for business taxation purposes. Only in this way can we stimulate the taking of risks by investing in new plants and equipment. We should consider the economic effect of downward adjustments in business taxes. There are strong reasons to believe that the stimulating effects of even a small cut in the corporate tax rate of 52 percent would lead to more rather than less revenue. Consideration should also be given to a complete overhauling of the present hodge-podge of excise taxes.... In the area of personal income, the almost confiscatory rates in the highest brackets stifle and prevent risk-taking and encourage tax avoidance devices.... The charge will inevitably be made that such reforms will benefit business and not the people.... But let us understand once and for all that 'business is the people.' The people own it.... Prosperity for the American people is inseparable from prosperity for American business. We cannot raise the floor of security unless we raise the ceiling of opportunity." Sept. 6, 1958.

Economic Policy - Votes

Taxes -- After World War II Nixon voted for cuts in income taxes; after the Korean War he voted for stiffer income taxes. In 1947 and subsequent years Nixon voted to increase the personal exemption on income taxes; in 1948 he favored a provision permitting husbands and wives to split their income; in 1951 he opposed deleting a section validating family partnerships for tax purposes only and also opposed lowering the tax on married persons making less than \$10,000 a year and increasing it on married persons in the higher tax brackets.

In 1951 Nixon opposed stepping up the date for increasing payments of corporation taxes, and in 1948 he voted against increasing corporation taxes. In 1951 he opposed a 3-percent increase in the capital gains tax, and also a section providing for capital-gains treatment of coal royalties. Also in 1951 Nixon opposed a withholding tax on dividends and corporate bond interest and reduction of the depletion allowance for oil, gas, sulphur and non-metallic minerals.

In 1952 Nixon favored rejection of President Truman's plan to reorganize the Bureau of Internal Revenue and put collectors under civil service. Nixon, however, introduced his own bill to put collectors under civil service.

Economic Controls -- On the subject of price and wage controls, Nixon while in Congress frequently differed with his party majority, favoring some federal

controls over the Nation's economy during a period of national emergency, whereas the GOP majority opposed most such legislation.

In 1952 Nixon opposed an outright attempt to end price and wage controls that year; opposed suspending wage and price controls unless there was a 3-percent rise in the consumer price index or unless Congress declared war; and opposed banning price ceilings on all agricultural products. The GOP majority favored all these proposals, the Democratic majority opposed them. Nixon favored an amendment prohibiting price ceilings on agricultural products or fish in short supply. In 1951 Nixon favored a Defense Production Act provision that prices should reflect "necessary and unavoidable cost increases" with due allowances for other costs. The Republican majority opposed this measure, which the Democrats favored. The GOP majority favored instead an amendment directing the Government to set industry-wide ceilings and guarantee farmers against loss. Nixon opposed the industry-wide ceiling. In 1952 Nixon joined with the GOP majority to favor lifting restrictions on the purchase of scarce materials abroad when domestic production could meet defense needs.

In 1951 Nixon joined with the GOP majority in prohibiting the Office of Price Stabilization from placing any restrictions, quotas or other limitations on livestock slaughtering. In 1950 he voted to confine credit controls to consumer and real estate credit. In 1947 he favored relying on voluntary industry agreements to fight higher living costs. The GOP majority favored these measures; the Democratic majority opposed them.

On rent control, Nixon in 1952 voted to terminate controls Feb. 28, 1953 and favored giving city councils the power to veto a federal decision to restore rent controls in their areas. In 1950 Nixon opposed the rent control bill, but in 1948 and 1949 he had voted for continued controls. In 1951 he voted to eliminate a provision authorizing the establishment of federal rent control in any state or locality where the local governing body requested it.

Business and Industry -- In 1952, Nixon voted for the tidelands bill, establishing the title of the states to submerged lands of the continental shelf and relinquishing the Federal Government's claim to such lands; he also voted for a similar tidelands bill in 1948. In 1952 Nixon opposed a motion to recommit the St. Lawrence Seaway bill. Nixon favored a reduction in Tennessee Valley Authority funds in 1952, and in 1948 opposed providing \$4 million for a TVA steam plant.

In 1949 Nixon voted for a bill to exempt independent natural gas producers from Federal Power Commission jurisdiction. In 1948 he favored passage over the President's veto of the Reed-Bulwinkle bill authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to suspend antitrust laws with respect to certain railroad agreements. In 1951 he favored computing subsidies for U.S. overseas airlines on the basis of actual costs plus fair return, and he opposed a measure providing for 3-10-year subsidy contracts between the Government and domestic and U.S. overseas airlines. Nixon favored the federal-aid highway program but in 1952 favored some cuts in highway funds. In 1951 he opposed efforts to strike out provisions for broader maritime subsidies.

Nixon voted for cuts in the President's budget for reclamation and power funds for the Department of Interior in 1947 but subsequently opposed all cuts in funds

for the Department. In 1948 he voted for the revised reclamation bill. In 1949 and 1950 he favored subsidies for domestic minerals.

In 1952 Nixon favored the so-called fair-trade bill making minimum price agreements binding on non-signers where so provided by state law. He voted for a 1951 pricing practices bill amending the Robinson-Patman Act to make good faith a complete defense to a charge of price discrimination when made to meet the equally low price of a competitor.

In 1949 Nixon voted for the basing point bill defining the application of the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Act to delivered price and freight-absorption practices. In 1949 he voted to amend the Clayton Antitrust Act to prohibit mergers through acquisition of assets in a competing corporation.

In 1952 he voted to abolish the Reconstruction Finance Corp. (but favored continuing loans to small business). In 1951 he voted against President Truman's plan to reorganize the RFC.

Education - Stands

"President Eisenhower has asked me to read this message which he sent today to the Board of Directors of the National Education Assn.: 'Nothing is more vital to the future of this nation than the education of our children. Yet, today, the education of millions of children is suffering from a lack of adequate classrooms. I have repeatedly urged a program of temporary, emergency federal assistance to help needy communities build more schools.... I am deeply anxious that the House of Representatives promptly pass such legislation. The important point is that this should be done now.' I regret that I cannot bring you more encouraging news as to the prospects for passage of the bill for Federal Aid to School Construction...basically it must be recognized that the School Construction bill as of this moment is a casualty of the battle of the budget.... Everybody is for education. The question is, are we for it enough to do something about it...." July 3, 1957.

"American education will be no better and no worse than the individual American parent wants it to be...this responsibility cannot be passed by the people to Washington...this job must be undertaken in the school room, in meetings of the Parent-Teachers Assn. and the local school boards. What is needed is a national awakening not only to what the needs are in education but also where the primary responsibility lies." Dec. 15, 1957.

"I believe that education is and should remain primarily a local and state responsibility.... There are those who believe that the answer is to have the Federal Government...take over the...problem, provide more money and we will have better education. My reply to that is this: It looks good on paper, but it won't work. The moment that we put the...responsibility...for financing education at the federal level, we are going to run serious risks of impairing local responsibility and...the risk of federal control.... At the high school and secondary level, I believe that the position that this Administration has taken is the proper one. We reject a federal program...in which the...Government would, without regard to need, subsidize teachers' salaries and subsidize, as well, construction throughout the country.... What we do say is that the Federal Government can...properly assist school districts that are needy on a program in which we participate with those local districts in helping them to finance their bond programs for new construction." Jan. 15, 1960.

"We believe that overall the American educational system is the best in the world. But inadequate classrooms, underpaid teachers and flabby standards are weaknesses we must constantly strive to eliminate, always recognizing in the remedies we recommend that any federal education program must not infringe upon state and local responsibility for and control of our school system." Jan. 27, 1960.

"(My) vote (see Education bill amendment tie-breaking vote Feb. 3, 1960, p. 384) on what you have termed aid to education, as you will recall, involved an amendment which would have provided direct federal aid for subsidizing teachers' salaries.... We (the Administration) believe that the Federal Government should limit its aid in the case of education to construction...if the approach of the Congress...is one which provides direct subsidies to teachers, there will be no aid to education this year." Feb. 15, 1960.

"There is a need for buildings. There is a need for better compensation...of teachers. And there is also a need for better quality standards. The greatest and most important of these, of course, is standards...certainly all over the country at all levels of education it is one that our local communities, our state legislatures, school boards must face up to and do a far more effective job than we have." Feb. 15, 1960.

Teachers -- "No one questions the critical need for new classroom construction.... But an even more critical need is that of getting and keeping qualified teachers.... There is no easy solution to this problem but all of us will agree that inadequate teachers' salaries are a substantial part of (it)...salaries paid to teachers...are nothing short of a national disgrace and if the situation is not corrected it could lead to a national disaster.... The problem we confront is so great that we must tap all of our nation's resources to meet it.... I think we should recognize at the outset that some additional federal activity and responsibility is inevitable and necessary in the field of education.... And as we consider federal aid, we must remember that we want our education to be free and that freedom and federal control are incompatible." Nov. 28, 1955.

"We must develop teaching scholars, not teaching technicians. Moreover, we must give teachers that salary, prestige and backing to enable us to attract the best minds to this honored profession, and to let them know in turn that we will back them up." Dec. 15, 1957.

"...there is no more important problem in American education today than raising the compensation for our teachers, and according them the recognition which they deserve. I also believe very strongly in another principle, and that is that one of the great strengths of a free economy is local control of the educational process.... Our problem in the case of federal aid to education is how do we reconcile these two problems: one, teachers should be paid more, and two, the fact that we do want local control rather than federal control." Feb. 15, 1960.

Loyalty Oath -- "I favor the loyalty oath (in the National Defense Education Act of 1958) in the affirmative sense. I do not believe that the denial of affiliation with various organizations is effective. I support the Administration's position to remove that requirement." Feb. 6, 1960.

College -- The United States is facing a major crisis in the field of higher education. It is essential for our

national survival that we continue to maintain the military and industrial superiority which we presently have over the Communist bloc nations. We can not do this unless our colleges and universities produce both the skilled technicians and the enlightened leaders the nation needs... Direct federal aid to private colleges and universities is both unlikely and in many respects undesirable. There is always the risk that such aid could impair the independent integrity which is so essential for a private institution to maintain. Contributions from individuals are increasingly difficult to obtain because of high income tax rates. I believe that when the fiscal situation of the Federal Government is such that we can afford a reduction in taxes we should give the most serious consideration to provisions which would encourage such contributions, as well as to various plans which have been suggested for allowing tuitions and fees of both public and private institutions to be treated as tax deductions." May 11, 1957.

"...there is an (Administration) program...limited simply to the construction of so-called college housing... this is a constructive approach." Feb. 15, 1960.

Education - Votes

In 1951 Nixon voted to increase funds for school surveys and construction in defense areas but favored an amendment reducing funds for payments to school districts in these areas. He did not vote on a 1948 measure providing aid for schools in defense areas. As Vice President in 1960, he did not vote to break a tie in the Senate on an amendment which would have authorized \$25 per school-age child or \$1.1 billion per year for an indefinite period for school construction and teachers' salaries. Then, he voted to table a motion to reconsider the amendment.

Civil Rights - Stands

"Since the time I entered Congress I've taken what would be called a strong position on this issue (civil rights). Part of this is background -- background of my college education, Quaker school, and the like." December 1958.

"I feel sure that we shall pass through our present crisis with...credit. Most of us here will live to see the day when American boys and girls shall sit, side by side, at any school -- public or private -- with no regard paid to the color of their skin. Segregation, discrimination and prejudice have no place in America." Oct. 19, 1956.

"The decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in schools is but one step in a continuing process of giving substance and vitality to our democracy.... America cannot afford the moral, the economic and the international cost of prejudice and discrimination...the American Revolution will not be complete until the ideals of independence, equality and freedom...are a reality not only for Americans but for peoples throughout the world." Oct. 19, 1956.

(Following Senate adoption of the jury trial amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1957) "This was one of the saddest days in the history of the Senate because this was a vote against the right to vote." Aug. 2, 1957.

"I believe the recommendations...the President has made in his civil rights message will provide the kind of stimulus and leadership that is needed to bring adherence to this (Supreme Court) decision...this problem of racial relations is not just a Southern problem; it is a Northern problem too...." Feb. 15, 1960.

"Whatever we may think on the question of civil rights, I think the great majority of Americans will agree there is no moral justification to denying any Americans the right to vote." Jan. 15, 1960.

Referee Proposal -- "I wholeheartedly support the Administration's referee proposal. I believe this is far superior to the well-intentioned, but I think ineffective recommendation which had been made by the Civil Rights Commission...." Feb. 15, 1960.

Rep. Brooks Hays (D Ark.)-- "I can say without qualifications that there was no more tragic result of this last election from the standpoint of the Nation than (his) defeat in Arkansas...it is time for men of good will in both of our major parties in all sections of the country to exert more positive leadership in developing the public understanding on this issue of civil rights which is essential if America is to continue to be a nation of responsible laws rather than irresponsible men." Nov. 23, 1958.

Effect Abroad -- "The people (of Asia, Africa and the Near East) are different in many ways.... But they are alike in one way -- they are not white. And, having traveled abroad and having spoken to these people in terms of the traditional beliefs of the United States of equality of opportunity...dignity of a man...it is most difficult for a representative of this country to talk one way abroad, and then to explain our practices at home." April 18, 1959.

Senate Rules -- "I believe the Senate, at the beginning of each new Congress, should have the power to change its rules, if it so desires. I've always felt that the present rules were weighted too much on the side of dilatory, filibustering tactics and not enough on the side of action. On the other hand, I would not go to the extreme...of providing for a cutting-off of debate by a simple majority of those present.... In a democracy we believe in rule by majority, but in a democracy it is always important to protect the rights of the minority." December 1958.

Civil Rights - Votes

Nixon voted for most civil rights legislation which came before the House and Senate during his Congressional service. In 1947 and 1949 he voted to outlaw the poll tax as a qualification for voting in federal elections, in 1950 for a Fair Employment Practice Act with investigating and recommending powers only (he favored an amendment deleting reference to unlawful employment practices in the bill) and in 1949 to prohibit segregation or discrimination because of race, creed or color in the Coast Guard Women's Reserve. In 1950 he voted as a Senator to table an anti-discrimination amendment in a railway labor bill. Nixon generally voted with his party majority on civil rights measures.

Statehood, D.C. Home Rule -- In 1950 and 1952 he voted for statehood for Alaska and in 1947 and 1950 for statehood for Hawaii, in 1952 voted against recommitment of a home rule bill for the District of Columbia.

Labor - Stands

(In defense of the Taft-Hartley Act on the House floor) "In 1935 the New Deal Congress enacted the National Labor Relations Act which granted unrestrained sovereign power over the workers of America to the barons of union labor. Now, I submit it is the responsibility and the opportunity of this Congress to grant to American workers their bill of rights." April 16, 1947.

"I do not believe that the Republican party should take a position against labor.... I believe we should, of course, deal effectively with the abuses that have been turned up in investigation of labor activity in this country but, on the other hand, I think the Republican party would make a great mistake if it took what I would call an anti-labor position either in its policies or in its campaigns." December 1958.

"We see the time not too far distant when we can have a four-day week and family life will be even more fully enjoyed by every American." Sept. 23, 1956.

"I believe that the Kennedy bill in its present form is totally inadequate to deal with the abuses which have been brought forth by the McClellan Committee. I am hopeful that...Congress...will follow the recommendations of the President by adding...provisions...with regard to secondary boycotts and blackmail picketing and also those provisions which would put some teeth into the particular sections of the Kennedy bill dealing with union democracy." Feb. 17, 1959.

"What is needed is legislation amending the Taft-Hartley Act, legislation...which will close two major loopholes...so-called blackmail and organizational picketing and...the secondary boycott and/or hot cargo provisions..." April 18, 1959.

Landrum-Griffin Bill -- "...the...bill, which has been much criticized by some sections of labor, I think was the proper approach." Feb. 15, 1960.

Right-to-Work Laws -- During the 1958 California campaign, declined to commit himself on the right-to-work issue, saying he would not take a stand on whether California voters should adopt a referendum barring union shop contracts. Sept. 30, 1958.

Steel Strike -- "...this (is) the Administration's position at this time: We think it would be a mistake for the Administration to interfere in the steel wage-price negotiations because if we do interfere, we set a precedent.... This would not be in the public interest." April 18, 1959.

"...any objective observer would have to agree that there could be nothing more irresponsible than to place before the Congress in an election year the complicated and potentially explosive issue of labor-management relations. In my opinion, the result would not only have been a Government-imposed settlement of this dispute but a real possibility of the enactment of permanent legislation which would have provided for some form of Government-imposed compulsory arbitration in all major labor disputes. I don't need to tell you that Government arbitration means Government wage fixing and that Government wage fixing inevitably means Government price fixing. Once we get into this vicious circle not only collective bargaining but the productive private enterprise system, as we know it, is doomed." Jan. 21, 1960.

Labor - Votes

Nixon in 1947 voted for passage of the Taft-Hartley Act over President Truman's veto and in 1949 opposed Truman Administration efforts to repeal the law. In 1952 he voted for a provision requesting the President to invoke injunction sections of the Taft-Hartley Act in the steel strike, as an alternative to Truman's plan to seize the industry and adjust wages and compensation.

Nixon in 1952 voted to continue the tripartite makeup of the Wage Stabilization Board and to give the Board limited authority to mediate or arbitrate labor disputes concerning only wages and salaries. He opposed another provision which would have given the Board jurisdiction over labor disputes which threatened to interrupt production.

In 1949 Nixon voted for legislation boosting the minimum wage and for provisions to permit such wages to vary with the cost of living.

In 1950 Nixon opposed an amendment to the Railway Labor Act authorizing states to outlaw the union shop in the railroad industry. This was a Senate vote.

Agriculture - Stands

"Here is this Administration's long-range program for agriculture: a flexible parity system aimed at keeping surpluses under control; a bold, imaginative program aimed at developing new markets; increased research....; continued soil conservation; REA, and other programs designed to protect the value of the farmer's investment and improve his living conditions; a program of rural development, to aid the marginal farmer.... This program has as its aim: full parity in the market place for farm products; maximum freedom for the farmer from government controls; an ever-increasing standard of living for farmers and the American people. We think this program is basically sound. We think it will work. We believe in it." Sept. 17, 1955.

"Farm prices are not staying up at the same level.... But the answer is not to go back to the old Democratic program of 90 percent parity which caused the decline in farm prices and piled up huge surpluses." Sept. 28, 1955.

Mr. Eisenhower's veto of the 1956 farm bill providing for a return to 90 percent price supports "will prove to be best for the American farmers and the American people." April 1956.

"...the farm program of our opponents...is a cruel hoax for the nation's farmers.... This program produced high farm income only in wartime, whereas the Eisenhower program is designed to produce prosperity on the farm in peacetime.... The Eisenhower program is working and will continue to work because it cuts right to the heart of the problem. It is reducing surpluses by attacking them...through the Soil Bank program and...through increasing markets for farm products. Oct. 12, 1956.

"We are thankful that American agriculture is the most productive in the world and that our problem is one of surpluses rather than scarcity. But we believe there is no higher legislative priority than a complete overhauling of obsolete farm programs under which the prices farmers receive for major farm products continue to go down and the costs to the taxpayer continue to go up." Jan. 27, 1960.

"...if we say that our farm program is bad for the country and...farmers, I think subsidizing automobiles would be probably just as bad...the President, rather than sending...Congress a rigid program,...has sent...his views as to what program could break this pattern in which the country pays more and more for a farm program, while the farmer gets less and less in income... Congress now has responsibility...to find a solution.... If Congress fails to do so, it will mean that they are more interested in an issue in 1960 than in a solution." Feb. 15, 1960.

Agriculture - Votes

In 1949, Nixon voted for continuation of the farm program providing 90-percent price supports for basic farm commodities. This proposal was offered as a substitute for a Democratic Administration-backed bill calling for a trial run of the controversial Brannan plan for production payments to farmers. This was the year in which the Democratic-controlled Congress sidetracked the flexible support program previously approved by the GOP 80th Congress.

On other agriculture votes, Nixon: in 1951 voted to extend the Sugar Act; in 1949 voted in favor of authorizing additional storage facilities for the Commodity Credit Corp.; in 1949 voted for expansion of rural telephone service but in 1947 had voted against an increase in Rural Electrification Administration loan funds; in 1948-1950 voted to repeal the federal tax on oleomargarine; in 1947 voted against increases in school lunch funds; in 1947 voted against authorization of \$20 million for farm tenant loans; in 1947 favored extending the importation of farm labor program for six months and in 1951 opposed a measure providing for the importation of foreign labor only when domestic workers were not available; in fiscal 1952 and 1953 agriculture appropriation bills favored cuts in soil conservation payments. As Vice President, he voted in 1956 to kill 90 percent price supports for millable wheat.

Welfare & Miscellaneous - Stands

Space -- "As we move into the space age, there has been too much talk of justifying the effort we are making in this field on the grounds of its potential military usefulness and not enough emphasis on the far more important ground that if a nation is to achieve and retain greatness its people must never tire in their efforts to explore the unknown and to acquire knowledge." Feb. 14, 1959.

Slum Clearance -- Builders should "step up in the United States a dynamic program to eradicate slum and blighted areas." Oct. 3, 1955.

Flood Control -- "...obviously the Federal Government has a clear and legitimate interest in flood prevention work." Oct. 3, 1959.

Chessman -- "The State Department has not, as far as I know, intervened (in the stay of Caryl Chessman's execution). If it did it was not authorized to do so and should not. International considerations should not interfere with the administration of justice in California." Feb. 19, 1960.

Unemployment Compensation -- "A dynamic and growing economy is bound to cause hardships to some of

the people involved in the process of change.... To the extent feasible, the 12 million workers not now covered should be brought under our unemployment compensation system. The prolongation of benefit periods now in effect as a temporary measure should be made permanent. The federal and state governments should work together toward the objective of establishing higher minimum standards for the level of benefits, their duration and their coverage." Sept. 6, 1958.

Internal Security -- "When we use unfair methods for fighting Communists we help to destroy freedom itself." March 15, 1954.

"We (the Eisenhower Administration) make just as sure as we can that we don't put the Communists on the (federal) payrolls in the first place and second, under a new security risk program, we recognize that it's a privilege, not a right, to work for the Government and that we should remove from the payroll those of doubtful loyalty and those who might be easy prey to espionage agents because of their personal habits or their backgrounds." March 15, 1954.

Checkers -- "...Checkers is healthy. But...she eats too much. Otherwise, she is...just as nice a dog now as she was six year ago." Feb. 17, 1959.

Welfare & Miscellaneous - Votes

Housing -- While in Congress Nixon opposed most programs for public housing, slum clearance and loans to cooperatives. In 1951 and 1952 he supported moves to cut back public housing authorizations to 5,000 units annually. In 1952 he sponsored an amendment specifically designed to stop public housing construction in Los Angeles. He voted for the 1950 "middle-income" housing bill; previously he voted to delete a provision for loans to cooperatives. In 1949 he opposed passage of a housing bill providing for public housing, slum clearance, construction of farm housing and aid to private builders. He voted against the low-rent public housing provision of this bill and favored an amendment requiring housing employees to sign anti-subversive affidavits. In 1947 he favored a \$750-million increase in the authority of the Federal Housing Administration to insure home mortgages.

Education -- In 1951 Nixon voted to increase funds for school surveys and construction in defense areas but favored an amendment reducing funds for payments to school districts in these areas. He did not vote on a 1948 measure providing aid for schools in defense areas.

Unemployment Compensation -- In 1949 Nixon voted for increased grants to the states for unemployment compensation and employment administration services.

Social Security -- Nixon voted for a 1950 bill extending social security coverage to an additional 10 million persons and increasing benefits by 70-100 percent. In 1949 he also voted for a bill providing broader social security coverage and benefits after previously voting for recommitment in favor of a GOP-backed substitute providing for a less extensive and less costly program. In 1948 he voted to increase federal old-age payments and aid to the blind. Also in 1948 he voted for legislation, passed over a Presidential veto, which cancelled Treasury regulations to expand social security coverage as a result of a Supreme Court decision. He also voted that year to increase pensions and annuities of retired railroad workers.

Internal Security -- Nixon voted in 1950 for the Internal Security Act establishing a Subversive Activities Control Board, requiring registration of Communist-controlled organizations and denying certain privileges to members of such organizations and providing for internment of subversives in a national emergency. He also voted to pass the bill over President Truman's veto.

Nixon voted in 1948 for a bill he sponsored -- known as the Mundt-Nixon bill -- which was a forerunner of the Internal Security Act. It provided for combatting un-American and subversive activities and required the registration of Communists and Communist-front organizations. In 1947 he voted for the establishment of a loyalty board to handle cases involving Government employees, but favored requiring court review of loyalty dismissals.

Other -- In 1951 Nixon opposed a proposal to provide subsidies to students under a professional health training program. Also that year he opposed cuts in grants-in-aid to the states for maternal and child welfare and opposed exempting aid to hospitals from a funds cut. In 1950 he voted to establish a National Science Foundation to promote basic research and scientific education and voted to block the President's plan to establish a Department of Health, Education and Security.

In 1949, Nixon was a sponsor of a voluntary prepayment health insurance bill, designed as a substitute for compulsory health insurance proposed by the Truman Administration. Similar bills were sponsored that year by Christian A. Herter (Mass.), Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.), Clifford P. Case (N.J.) and Thurston B. Morton (Ky.), then all fellow Republican Members of the House.

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